Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-198 *13 October 1994*

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NOTICE TO READERS: Effective 1 October, the processing indicators appearing in brackets at the start of each item in this publication will be changed. All new indicators will begin with "FBIS" to make the material more easily identifiable in databases. Some will also indicate whether the item has been translated from the vernacular or transcribed from English.

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Berisha Announces Constitution Referendum 6 Nov

AU1210142794 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The referendum on the draft constitution will be held on 6 November 1994.

On the basis of Article 28, Clause 4 of Law No. 7,491, dated 29 April 1991, on the Main Constitutional Provisions, Sali Berisha, president of the Republic of Albania, today announced the popular referendum for the approval of the draft constitution, which was endorsed by the People's Assembly on 10 October 1994.

On the basis of Article 6 of the Law on Referendums, Sali Berisha, president of the Republic of Albania, announced that Sunday, 6 November 1994, would be the date when the popular referendum to approve the draft Albanian constitution will be held.

Selami Seeking Dialogue With Greece

AU1210155694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Oct 94

[Interview with Assembly Foreign Policy Commission Chairman Eduard Selami by Amalia Dhamo in Tirana; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Dhamo] Mr. Selami, during your stay in Strasbourg, you held meetings with the Council of Europe president and secretary general. In our news reports, we have broadcast their support for the declaration of a referendum and the approval of the Albanian draft constitution through a referendum. What are their comments on this?

[Selami] During the meetings I held with the Council of Europe president and secretary general, alongside issues on the course of the reform and the democratic progress in Albania, we also discussed the most current political problem in Albania—that of approving the constitution through a referendum. They both stated that they were very optimistic and enthusiastic about this. They considered it to be an important democratic step that accelerates the process of completing the framework of the legislative reform in Albania and expressed their total approval. They both requested that the correspondents who are reporting on Albania attend the referendum. I think that this constitutes very important support. The fact that this important political step in Albania finds such support in the Council of Europe, which is known to be the main institution that deals with human rights and freedoms in Europe currently, is very positive.

[Dhamo] I have another question. Referring to your news conference there, various news agencies devoted an important place to the current tense Albanian-Greek relations. What place did these relations occupy in the Council of Europe parliamentary session?

[Selami] This was one of the main problems that was discussed there. As a delegation, we were prepared for this. It should be noted that, from the beginning, the Greek delegation, or better its chairman, Mrs. Papandreou, asked that a resolution against Albania be approved in order to stop the procedure on Albania's membership into the Council of Europe. She asked the parliamentary groups and other commissions in the Council of Europe to block the process of Albania's integration into the Council of Europe, something that was not approved.

I would like to say that we, as a delegation, and I personally had no chance, either in the political commission or in the respective political group, to debate much with my Greek colleagues, because the other participants who constituted the greatest majority were against them. Everything has a limit.

Considering that the Greeks are currently against Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and Turkey, an impression has been created that they are against everyone. As was seen, patience has a limit, so I did not have to spend much energy in this direction. However, it is clear that, at the news conference and other sessions, I paid attention to and reiterated our desire to establish dialogue and resolve problems through dialogue and good understanding, we being the two oldest neighbors in this region.

It should be noted that, unfortunately, we have still not received an answer from them. However, I am still optimistic and think that a solution can be found, because it is to the interest of both countries and also that of the region.

[Dhamo] Thank you!

[Selami] Thank you!

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Assembly Rejects Ludzhev as Prime Minister

AU1210171094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1634 GMT 12 Oct 94

[Statement by National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov at the National Assembly session in Sofia on the result of an open ballot on the candidature of Dimitur Ludzhev—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Please cease voting and allow me to read the results of the ballot.

A total of 212 National Assembly deputies cast their votes in the ballot. Of these, 40 deputies voted in favor of the decision [to elect Ludzhev as prime minister], 162 voted against, and 10 deputies abstained. Accordingly, the motion is not adopted, and Dimitur Petrov Ludzhev is not elected as prime minister of the Republic of Bulgaria.

Ladies and Gentlemen, National Assembly Deputies, the resolution that we have just voted on in essence concludes the procedure prescribed under Article 99, Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria. In this way, the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria expresses its clear desire to dissolve itself for the holding of early parliamentary elections. I will now convey this clear desire of the National Assembly to the president of the Republic of Bulgaria, and expect him to exercise the powers granted to him under Article 99, Paragraph 3 of the Constitution and appoint a caretaker government, dissolve the National Assembly, and fix a date for early parliamentary elections within the deadline prescribed under Article 64, Paragraph 3, of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria.

I now call a recess of half an hour, after which our session will continue.

Defense Minister Views PFP, Balkan Conflict

AU1210185094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1719 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia, October 12 (BTA)—Bulgaria's involvement in the Partnership for Peace plan (for cooperation between NATO and Central and Eastern European nations) is a key part of Bulgaria's effort to integrate into new Europe, outgoing Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov says today in an interview for the BERLINER ZEITUNG newspaper. By promoting its foreign political ties with Western Europe, Bulgaria is seeking to join European and Euro-Atlantic security structures, he says. Aleksandrov is pleased that Bulgaria's efforts to promote long-term institutional cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe are being recognized, and this country has been granted an enhanced status with the Western European Union.

In his interview, the minister of defence voices alarm over imbalances between the Armed Forces of Bulgaria and neighbouring NATO member nations for which the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty sets higher arms ceilings. Commending the role of UN peacekeepers, the minister recalls that some Balkan nations would not respond to Bulgaria's call not to send troops to former Yugoslavia. At this stage, the war in Bosnia is not posing any direct threat to Bulgarian national security, but a spillover of the war into Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] would constitute a direct treat. Aleksandrov is alarmed about a discernible trend to produce solutions for Bosnia at any cost, without taking into account history, traditions, and possible repercussions in Balkan countries facing similar problems. He is worried about a possible surge of ethnic tensions in the Balkans. Bulgaria has a vital interest in a lasting, fair, peaceful solution to disputes in Bosnia that would enable Balkan nations to return to good-neighbourly cooperation, says the minister. According to him, Bulgaria will take an active part in an international effort to come to a postwar settlement in former Yugoslavia.

Aleksandrov says the structural reform in the Bulgarian Army is seeking to shrink and streamline old, unwieldy command structures, and make the Army more mobile and efficient. Nearly two-thirds of senior officers polled by the Defence Ministry Public Research Centre in August and September and nearly 100 percent of junior officers support personnel changes sponsored by the minister, according to Aleksandrov.

Zhelev Relieves Supreme Court President

AU1210193994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today President Zhelev issued a decree relieving Ivan Grigorov from the post of president of the Supreme Court of Bulgaria. At his own request, Grigorov was also relieved from serving on the Supreme Judicial Council. The decree also relieved Dimitur Gochev from serving on the Supreme Court; he was also elected as a member of the Constitutional Court. Nikolay Urumov was appointed to take Gochev's place as president of the Fifth Civil Division of the Supreme Court.

BZNS, Democratic Party Form Coalition

AU1210194094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Anastasiya Mozer, chief secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], and Democratic Party Chairman Stefan Savov signed an agreement on forming an election campaign coalition. All parties and political figures that in recent years have demonstrated their commitment to the idea of democracy will be free to join the coalition. The coalition will adopt decisions by consensus. If colored ballot papers are used in the next elections, the BZNS-Democratic Party coalition will ask to be allotted an orange ballot paper.

Immediately prior to the actual elections, a special agreement will be concluded on the procedure for compiling joint lists of election candidates. A decision on the name of the new coalition is expected to be adopted within a few days.

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Expert Commission Chooses U.S. Avionics

AU1210170294 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta: "Experts Want Hardware From the United States for the L-159"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prague—The expert commission composed of representatives of the Industry and Trade Ministry, the Defense Ministry, and Aero Vodochody, which is preparing documentation for the government to use in assessing the bids submitted on the supply of avionics for the L-159 aircraft, made a definitive decision last week that the foreign supplier of these strategic components would be the U.S. firm Rockwell.

The session of the commission was declared to be confidential. The representatives of the commission will officially inform on whether it preferred the Israeli firm Elbit or the U.S. Rockwell company after the defense minister and the prime minister have studied the report. [passage omitted]

Rockwell, according to Aero Vodochody internal material, surpassed the Israeli firm in almost all criteria. The U.S. avionics are compatible with NATO systems, and the Czech-U.S. connection would facilitate an Australian contract for Aero for the supply of aircraft worth billions [currency not specified]. [passage omitted]

Deputies Discuss Replacement Planes With U.S.

LD1210154394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 12 Oct 94

[Article by Prague Radio editor Ilona Dienstbierova]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] This morning, some parliamentary deputies met Admiral William Owens, deputy chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Speaking about the talks, Oldrich Kuzilek [deputy from the Civic Democratic Alliance] told Czech Radio that the discussion focused mainly on the replacement of our Army's armaments. At issue is turning down the MiG's and aiming for the Belgian F-16 [as heard] fighter planes. The admiral welcomed this view and promised to back it.

The deputies from the Defense and Security Committee then briefed the U.S. guest about the Czech Republic's interest in developing the Partnership for Peace program and individual plans on the 16-Plus-One principle. They were also interested in France's position in NATO.

Admiral Owens had a brief meeting with Milan Uhde, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies. The U.S. admiral will shortly address parliament, where he will deliver a speech entitled "The Partnership for Peace and Civilian Control of the Army."

Radar Exports Limited by 'Political Interests'

AU1210144694 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 7 Oct 94 p 2

[Commentary by Jaroslav Kmenta: "Political Interests of the Republic Stand in the Way of Tamara Radar System Exports"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The HTT Group Tesla Pardubice [east Bohemia], manufacturer of the renowned Tamara passive radar system, faces bankruptcy. Commercial and diplomatic experts agree, however, that the Pradubice enterprise's unfortunate state is an indirect consequence of the change in the Czech Republic's political orientation.

The problem is that the HTT Group Tesla has not sold a single Tamara in two years, and therefore it does not have the funds to pay off the large amounts it owes to the state and the National Property Fund for the purchase of the enterprise and the health and social insurance.

Although HTT Group President Oldrich Barak refuses to comment on why Tamara has not yet been sold, it is generally believed that the nations interested in the system do not suit the political interests of the Republic.

It is mostly the Arab world that wants to be equipped with the superior Czech product. Some of the countries from this region are, however, considered by the Western powers to be so-called high-risk countries, to which military material is not to be exported. Some Army officials even indicate the U.S.'s possible interest in not exporting Tamara because it is one of only a few such systems that can locate even the invisible U.S. Stealth aircraft. "If potential U.S. enemies had this radar at their disposal, the millions spent on the development of the U.S. superaircraft would be wasted," one of the Army experts said.

In addition to China, Iran, and Iraq, India, for instance, and Taiwan, South Korea, and Thailand indicated interest in Tamara, and exports there might be acceptable. "We will respect the interests of the Republic. We will export Tamara only where permitted," Barak stated.

Tamara Faces Bankruptcy

AU1210144594 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by "ha, km": "The Manufacturer of a Unique Radar Faces Bankruptcy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The HTT Group Tesla Pardubice [east Bohemia], manufacturer of the outstanding Tamara passive radar system, has not managed to sell a single one of these systems over the past two years and faces bankruptcy.

According to experts, Tamara can locate even the invisible U.S. Stealth aircraft. Both commercial and Army experts would consider the conceivable collapse of this

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enterprise unfortunate because Tamara is a unique and superior product, one in which the armies of many countries have shown interest.

However, HTT Group Tesla owes large sums for health and social insurance and has also not yet paid the National Property Fund the entire 155 million korunas [Kc] that was the purchase price for the former state-owned company. Moreover, a year after concluding the contract with the National Property Fund, the new owners managed to increase Tesla's debt to nearly Kc2 billion.

HTT Group president Oldrich Barak denies, however, that the company is facing bankruptcy. "It is true that we have about 70 creditors, but I do not perceive the situation to be at all tragic. We are persuading the creditors that they must have a a little patience because we are unable to pay all of them at once," he said.

Some company creditors are, however, of a different opinion. Slovacke Strojirny [engineering works] Director General Vaclav Gal even considers all agreements with Barak regarding the payment of debts a fraud. HTT promised the company, which supplies Tesla with components for the Tamara radar, that it would pay the debt of Kc65 million in regular monthly installments of Kc5 million, provided Slovacke Strojirny withdraws its bankruptcy petition. Nevertheless, Tesla has not been keeping to this agreement.

"We are only waiting for the reopening of the bankruptcy proceedings now because we cannot afford another bad experience. The debt is too high, and it literally has the enterprise by the throat," Gal said.

Bankruptcy petitions against HTT Group Tesla Pardubice were already filed by the Hradec Kralove Regional Court on behalf of the Akermann Co., the Swiss firm Ekejtrinic, Co., and Pramet Sumperk last August. Because the documents did not include a list of all of the creditors, however, the court has not initiated bankruptcy proceedings. New court proceedings are expected in the middle of October. The creditors, including the National Property Fund, are convinced that the quicker bankruptcy occurs, the smaller the state losses will be.

Oldrich Barak claims that HTT continues to negotiate Tamara exports, and several contacts are close to a conclusion.

Officials Promote Trade With Asian Countries

94CH0439B Prague PROGNOSIS in English 21 Sep 94 p 7

[Article by Amy Collins: "Czech Trade Looks East"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Hoping to build new inroads toward undersaturated markets in Asia, the Czech Republic played host to three trade delegations from Vietnam, Thailand and China within the last month.

Jaroslav Ludva, an economic adviser for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said the Czech Republic views Asian economies as a "primary orientation" for new trade relations.

He said West European markets were not as lucrative for Czech manufacturers because of the strong competition and high quality of other products available. The booming markets of the so-called "Asian tigers"—China, Thailand and especially Vietnam—are more accessible to Czech manufacturers, he said.

Vladimir Budinsky, chair of Czech Parliament's Economics Committee, would not go so far as to call Asia a major focus for future trade, but he said he expected expansion.

"The Asian market does not occupy a key position in our economy, but it has the potential to grow significantly," Budinsky wrote in a statement to PROGNOSIS WEEKLY.

Trade with Asia accounts for 6.23 percent of Czech imports and 7.95 percent of all exports. Japan and Taiwan are the leading Asian importers to the Czech Republic, while Hong Kong and China receive most of the Czech exports to Asia, according to Budinsky.

The delegations from Vietnam and Thailand were in the Czech Republic at the end of August, while China's officials visited during the first week of September.

Ludva said the Vietnamese visit was the most lucrative; it resulted in concrete business negotiations as well as mutual most-favored-nation trading status.

In October, Premier Vaclav Klaus will visit China, which purchased $250 million US in Czech goods last year, mainly in metal products, machine tools and vehicles. A group of Czech entrepreneurs will join Klaus on the trip.

However, Vadim Petrov, chief of Klaus' press department, said there is no particular emphasis on Asia right now. Petrov called the reciprocal visits a piece of the country's effort to make its global policy stronger.

New Czech Oil Consortium Established

94CH0439A Prague PROGNOSIS in English 21 Sep 94 p 4

[Article by H.L. and V.S.: "Czech Group Joins Race To Buy Oil"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] With a revamped government proposal for privatizing the Czech oil industry due on Sept. 15, a new Czech consortium has thrown its hat into the ring to buy up the country's mammoth refinery and petrochemical firms.

Just a week before Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy's deadline, a new addition appeared on his list of bidders: KCF Petrol, a.s., a consortium headed by the private engineering and machinery company Inekon, has recently begun negotiating with Dlouhy's ministry.

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The brand-new consortium, which hasn't yet filed papers to make it a legal entity, came together after May 13 when the government announced the Czech firm Chemapol as its most likely candidate. Putting aside another offer from big foreign firms like Shell and Conoco, government officials said they would prefer to follow a "Czech way" that kept most of the industry in Czech hands.

When the government's naming of Chemapol made it apparent that Czech companies would be given top priority as buyers, the member companies decided to form the consortium. "We were basically thinking about (starting the consortium) at the end of last year, but only in outlines," said a KCF official.

"At present, there are 18 companies (in the consortium). It is an absolutely loose association, and any legal entity with an interest in the (refinery and petrochemical) complex is welcome," the KCF representative said.

The members will establish a joint-stock company with a basic equity of 51 million Kc. Representatives announced last week that major Czech banks would have a stake in and serve as coordinators of the entire project. In addition, the consortium claims that a group of Western banks will support the project with a loan of $1.5 billion US.

KCF has offered to buy out 54 percent of Chemopetrol Litvinov, the country's fourth-largest industrial firm, for 5.7 billion Kc, and 40 percent of Kaucuk Kralupy, the most profitable petrochemical company, for 2 billion Kc.

The consortium aims to privatize the industries using Czech resources, but members said in a press release that they would allow foreign capital "in a defined (specified) area of the business activities of the shareholding companies."

The KCF official said this "specific area" would not be extremely large. "We want the petrochemical and refinery complex to be a Czech company with Czech capital," he said.

While the consortium intends to maintain the industries as primarily Czech operations, echoing the "Czech way" rhetoric of a few months back, the KCF representative said there were no ties between the consortium and Chemapol.

Chemapol's bid was derailed when concerns arose that Chemapol wasn't big enough to handle the project and newspapers reported that the director was a former secret police (StB) agent with ties to Russian oil mafias.

"Chemapol is not involved (in KCF); Chemapol has never been the initiator," he said.

Chemapol, a formerly state-owned company, is still in the bidding and still at the center of controversy. Last week Czech Parliament's Defense Committee asked Interior Minister Jan Ruml, who originally claimed to have evidence that "someone in Chemapol top management" was a former StB agent, to submit proof of the allegation. The report that Ruml will submit, like his last written findings on Chemapol, will not be available to the public.

Also in the bidding is a project submitted by the International Oil Consortium, made up of Agip, Conoco, Total and Shell.

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Moravcik Fears Authoritarian Regime Under HZDS

AU1210143294 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Oct 94 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Moravcik by Oldrich Zabojnik; place and date not given: "The Prime Minister Believes Evolution Toward a More Authoritarian Regime Cannot Be Ruled Out"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zabojnik] How do you view the situation in Slovakia after the election?

[Moravcik] The situation after the 1992 parliamentary election was, in view of the disintegrating federation, more dramatic. However, this does not make the current situation less dramatic because the decision regarding the direction in which Slovakia will be heading in the next 10 or 15 years is now being made—whether democracy will stabilize or a more authoritarian regime will assert itself here. As I see things, the attitude of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] toward the president, the current election, and other developments indicate that an evolution toward a more authoritarian regime cannot be ruled out.

[Zabojnik] Do you not think that, in view of the geographic position of Slovakia, this is a rather exaggerated expectation?

[Moravcik] Everything indicates that efforts to install such a regime are here. Someone may, perhaps, want to imitate the system used in Chile, for example—that is, install an authoritarian regime first, then ease up gradually and thereby arrive at some kind of democracy. While the HZDS has not explicitly said this, it underestimates the people of Slovakia. The 35 percent of citizens who voted for the HZDS are far from being the majority. I therefore think that the HZDS does not have a chance of asserting itself in the long term. Of course, we will do everything we can for it not to assert itself.

[Zabojnik] Are you so skeptical as to believe that the election results have pushed Slovakia to some kind of political or other collapse?

[Moravcik] Certainly not. Safeguards exist that will prevent an undesirable development. If, for instance, a broad coalition including the HZDS, the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] came into being, the SDL and the KDH would embody such safeguards. Finally, there is also the possibility that, should the HZDS be unable to form a government, the existing coalition will carry on.

[Zabojnik] A new coalition government does not seem to be in sight. Is it true that, even after it tenders its resignation in parliament, your government will stay in office until a new cabinet takes its position?

[Moravcik] All constitutional democratic systems in the world ensure continuity of power as a very important mechanism. We, too, have this reliably functioning mechanism, although it can be misused. This also happened in our case, when the previous government created a situation wherein we had to appoint the new government in the span of only a few days.

[Zabojnik] Without questioning your goodwill in any way and your quest for cooperation, it is very difficult to imagine you as Vladimir Meciar's possible coalition partner. Do you view things differently?

[Moravcik] I do not consider this at all important. If we contemplated cooperation between the HZDS and the Democratic Union—only theoretically, for the time being—I personally would be irrelevant. We have many personalities who could cooperate.

HZDS Continuing Coalition Negotiations

AU1210173794 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by J. Alner: "The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia No Longer Admits to the Possibility of Remaining in the Opposition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—A.M. Huska, deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], told us after yesterday's Political Board meeting that "the board sees no alternative but to form a government. It is our unequivocal duty, one given by the election results."

The Board expressed its regret about the distorted interpretation of the HZDS's views on the postelection meeting between the president of the Republic and the new parliamentary parties. According to a statement made yesterday, its objection concerns mass consultative meetings. The movement reserves the right to negotiate independently with its partners. Its skepticism about the president at this stage is focused on "making sure that the situation when he gave preference to one party is not repeated."

From the coalition talks held so far with the Slovak National Party, the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS], Common Choice, and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], the Board underscores the fact that all of the partners think it makes sense to continue with the talks. It agreed with a proposal that the HZDS should also forge contacts of an informative nature with the Hungarian coalition. "We will discuss the complaint to the Constitutional Court concerning the Democratic Union," said Huska.

In reply to our question on how the rapprochement with the ZRS is proceeding, Huska said that "it is necessary for us to get used to each other." The HZDS is analyzing the ZRS's demands. Huska did not deny that the HZDS is still thinking about a government with a three-fifths majority in parliament. According to him, the talks with the KDH have proceeded the furthest; more detailed talks with Common Choice are anticipated following a meeting of its Political Board.

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The HZDS realizes that "coalition agreements will not enable us to realize our policy objectives 100 percent, but we will insist on setting priorities so that the government can fulfill its aims."

Commentary on Meciar's Role in Forming Coalition

AU1210203394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Oct 94 p 3

[Commentary by Julius Gembicky: "Will Vladimir Meciar Prove Himself To Be Not Only a Skillful Politician but Also a Statesman?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] No matter what partial reservations one may have about some of the methods and political tricks of Vladimir Meciar, the election results—and, at this moment, they are clear—directly authorize him to assume the responsibility for forming the new government. He has demonstrated unequivocally for the second time that he knows how to win elections by means of his successful recipe for communicating with the voters. However, he has not managed to capitalize on this success in his dialogues with the political partners in the coalition groupings. That is, V. Meciar has again confirmed that he is a skillful politician, but, moreover, he should prove in the complicated coalition negotiations that he is also a skillful statesman. No leader, no matter how successful, becomes a statesman without being able to reach a compromise.

The most viable way toward a governing HZDS-RSS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Farmers' Party of Slovakia] coalition leads through the open support of the Slovak National Party [SNS] and the tacit support of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS]. From the point of view of statesmanlike wisdom, the politician Meciar realizes that this coalition would, admittedly, make it possible to form a governing cabinet, but one whose potential instability would be encoded in it right at its inception. Therefore, it is not surprising that he is also, at the same time, putting himself through the extremely complex torture of coalition talks with somewhat stronger partners. Although Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] Chairman P. Weiss has trotted out his notion of a broad coalition government that would stabilize the political situation in Slovakia—that is, the HZDS-RSS, Common Choice, Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], and Democratic Union [DU]—Meciar made it clear even before the start of the negotiations that two of them, at most, are being taken into consideration: Common Choice or just its powerful part, the SDL and the KDH. In making its objectives more specific, the HZDS also indirectly expressed the stipulation that it would be easier to reach a compromise if Weiss were no longer leader of the SDL because his absence would facilitate the course of the talks. Despite this, the SDL Presidium has assigned P. Weiss, P. Kanis, and J. Kosnar to the coalition talks.

Judging by the intensity of the increasing attacks, mainly on Weiss, it is possible to surmise that, as far as the HZDS is concerned, the most practical compromise would be to form a government with the Christian democrats. While the SDL, or Common Choice, is refusing to enter into a coalition with the SNS, the KDH has so far not set such conditions. The HZDS, which has already sounded out the Carnogurskyites and is probing the firmness of their support for President M. Kovac and their response to settling the situation in parliament, is waiting to see how they will react to the offer of the post of foreign minister for J. Carnogursky and of M. Dzurinda's remaining in the post of minister of transportation, communications, and public works. Such a coalition would have the opportunity to push possible constitutional laws through parliament via the tacit support or, as the case may be, the case-to-case support, of the Association of Workers of Slovakia.

However, Meciar would win widespread support in society and achieve a historical reconciliation if he were also to include other political entities, Common Choice and DU, in forming the coalition grouping. If he were able to transcend the old conflicts and differences by showing political magnanimity, he could form a truly wise government, with general international acceptability. He would prove that he has matured not only into a successful Slovak politician, but also into a statesman capable of negotiating even the narrowest straits of compromises. Such a cabinet, despite contradictory views on partial problems, would prove to us and the world that we can dig ourselves out of the mire by our own efforts, with the prospect that this will last for at least four years. Then, even those who did not vote for the HZDS-RSS could start to sing instinctively the refrain "No more conflicts."

Workers Group Supports HZDS-SNS Coalition

LD1310104594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 13 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Association of Workers of Slovakia will support in a tacit coalition the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. This was said by the Association's deputy chairman, Klement Kolnik, in an interview with the DOMINO EFEKT weekly.

Parliament Posts To Be Allocated Proportionately

LD1310104294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 13 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At its first session after the parliamentary election, the coalition council agreed to push for the principle of proportional representation in parliament. According to this principle, the post of chairman would go to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, while a representative of the Hungarian coalition would be one of the deputy chairmen.

After the session, Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, said that the coalition council has agreed to set up a group of legal experts,

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which will evaluate the issues surrounding a possible nullifying [as heard] of the election results of the Democratic Union.

Hungarian Policy Seen as Security Threat

AU1310082194 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 Oct 94 p 6

[Article by Pavol Hrivik: "Sovereignty and Integrity Are at Stake; Slovakia in the Vacuum of Security Guarantees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The fall of communism in Central and East European countries toward the end of the preceding decade triggered a process of these communities' massive democratization and the restoration of their sovereignty. In one sensitive area, however, in the sphere of security guarantees, it has also introduced an element of insecurity. The Visegrad Four countries and the Baltic states seek to gain security guarantees by joining NATO. In present-day Europe, NATO is the sole organization capable of providing such collective guarantees.*

Our state's actual admission to NATO has become a "longer-term affair." Until we are admitted, the compensatory U.S. Partnership for Peace program does not extend to us any security guarantees. However, the nonexistence of security guarantees places the political leadership of the country, if it feels responsibility for the country's fate, under the obligation to rely on dependable military cooperation at least on the bilateral level. Passive waiting for admission into NATO does not extend to us sufficient security.

But with whom should we coordinate our security? The answer to this question must be provided by our historical experience, the geopolitical conditions in which we live, and our neighbors' policy. It is particularly Hungary that has been coming up with overtly anti-Slovak positions in the post-1989 period, which it has even been presenting at international forums. These are associated with the systematic escalation of minority demands and interference in our and also Romanian affairs. At present, this expansionist policy strives outwardly to adapt to European norms, without, however, renouncing in the least the power objectives. Hungarian foreign policy may have renounced traditional efforts to revise the borders, but it has not given up territorial claims. The precondition of successful diplomacy carried out in this direction is for Hungarian policy to speak aloud about Hungary's not demanding border changes and to keep completely quiet about its continuing to have territorial claims, which it only wants to assert differently.

In the future, the aim of Hungarian foreign policy will be to energetically demand local and regional autonomy for the Hungarian population in neighboring countries—that is, primarily in Slovakia and Romania but probably in Serbian-Montenegrin Yugoslavia and Ukraine, as well. Even today, Hungarian minority politicians are going not to Bratislava, Belgrade, or Bucharest to fetch their directives, but to Budapest. Should Hungarian foreign policy succeed in the future in pushing through this regional and territorial autonomy, the Hungarian minority population will gain dominance over the domestic population, which constitutes the minority in the pertinent Hungarian-populated regions, and the present Hungarian state will, for all practical purposes, extend its power to the territory of these regions abroad. Such is the essence of present-day Hungarian foreign policy, which verbally renounces the demand for border changes but continues to assert its territorial claims under the label of a democratic minority policy.

This represents an obvious effort to disrupt the internal territorial integrity of neighboring states, which also has a direct bearing on their security policy. The purpose of the existence of each country's armed forces is to protect the country's borders and territorial integrity and to defend its sovereignty and independence. And it needs to be said frankly that the aim of the aforementioned Hungarian policy is to deprive our country of sovereignty over some ethnically mixed territories and to disrupt its territorial integrity. Our security policy must respond to this, precisely because we lack security guarantees that would act as a counterweight to this type of expansionism in Central Europe.

Hungarian policy itself—the policy of integrating ethnic Hungarians regardless of state borders—instructs us how to face up to this expansionism. The only possibility of successful defense against this policy is through the integration of states whose sovereignty is disrupted by this policy. It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that, on 18 and 19 August of this year, representatives of Hungarians living abroad conferred in Budapest. At the meeting, they elected some kind of provisional National Strategic Commission of the Hungarian Nation, which brings together organizations, parties, associations, and clubs of Hungarians living abroad. Representatives of the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia also participated in the meeting. How are we to comment on the fact that meetings of Hungarians from abroad are being organized in Budapest, with the Hungarian state's caring attention, at which meetings they elect their "government," even though they may be calling it a National Strategic Commission? I suppose the only explanation is that it is considered normal in present-day Hungary, when the Hungarian population of Slovakia, Ukraine, or Romania is subordinated not to the governments in Bratislava, Kiev, or Bucharest but to the "National Strategic Commission," with seat in Budapest.

Some Hungarian minority politicians go so far as to strive to get under their influence also other ethnic groups living in Slovakia and make them oppose the Slovak Republic's legal bodies. For example, on 31 August 1994, acting on behalf of Coexistence, Miklos Duray signed an agreement with the Union of Romany Associations in Hungary. In the agreement, Coexistence commits itself to represent in the National Council of the

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Slovak Republic and at international forums the interests of the Romany ethnic group in Slovakia. What is interesting is that, through Duray's signature, Coexistence promises to fulfill this commitment not toward Slovak Romanies but toward Romany representatives from Hungary. Did Romanies in Slovakia ask him for that? It would be appropriate to ask Mr. Duray who empowered and authorized him to take this step.

It is certain that the Slovak Republic Government must resist this policy by defending Slovakia's sovereignty also in the ethnically mixed territories. This must find its expression also in the foreign and security policies of our young state. One of the tasks of our foreign policy must be to expose and lay bare the expansionism of Hungarian foreign policy. The task of security policy, in turn, should be the coordination of defense policies with countries that are also disconcerted by Hungarian expansionism.

Hungarian Minority Views Critical Issues

94CH0440B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 27 Sep 94 pp 8a-9a

[Article by Timea Spitkova and Anna Szakaly: "On the Border Between Two Worlds"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] After years of being shunted from place to place, a statue of the famous 19th-century Hungarian poet Tompa Mihaly was finally returned to its original location in a small Slovak city last summer. But no sooner had it been restored than it was attacked by chisel-wielding Slovak extremists.

These vandals were chipping away at more than just a statue. The attack on this monument, a source of pride for the country's Hungarian minority, was a symbolic assault on the Hungarian community in Slovakia.

Margarita and Jozef Hasaj, a Hungarian-Slovak couple, remember watching the statue being dragged off by oxen at the end of World War II. Now in their 80s, they are happy to have lived long enough to see it returned to what they believe is its rightful place.

"The statue means a lot to Hungarians in this town, and (we) are determined to preserve it. Some people cried when it was brought back," says Margarita.

The statue in Rimavska Sobota was pulled down in 1945 by Slovak students after the new Czechoslovak state branded the Hungarian minority collectively guilty for Hungary's occupation of southern Slovakia during the war. Hungarians were stripped of their citizenship and property, some were deported, and others were relocated to areas of Bohemia and Moravia where they were isolated from the larger Hungarian community.

It was a time of great trauma for Hungarians living in Slovakia, many of whom had roots in the region going back for generations.

Today, the ultranationalist rhetoric of certain prominent politicians and the blatant anti-Hungarian sentiments that appear in the media have rekindled some of the old fears.

"Back in 1945, I managed to save my parents, who were already on the train to Hungary, by bribing an official," says Margarita, admitting that those times still evoke bitter memories.

As a result of the postwar policies, which were put into effect by Czechoslovak President Edvard Benes, 32,000 ethnic Hungarian citizens of Czechoslovakia were expelled; 69,000 were resettled in Hungary as a result of a Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange; 42,000 were deported from Slovakia to Bohemia and Moravia; 6,000 simply fled.

Rather than face deportation, many people suppressed their Hungarian roots. Between 1945 and 1948, over 327,000 Hungarians registered themselves as Slovaks; many more attempted to change their official ethnic status and failed.

Members of the Hungarian minority today are deeply concerned about their uncertain place in Slovak society.

"I want my children and grandchildren to take pride in their roots, not suppress them," says Margarita, who worries that ethnic animosity at the national level may eventually affect relations between people in her village.

There are about 567,000 ethnic Hungarians presently living in Slovakia, constituting 10.8 percent of the total population. The majority live along the southern strip of Slovakia, which borders Hungary.

Rimavska Sobota, a city in the heart of this region, has a population of 98,000, of which almost 50 percent is ethnic Hungarian. Almost everyone—Hungarian and Slovak—is bilingual, easily switching from one language to the other.

There is little evidence in Rimavska Sobota of the ethnic tensions frequently described in the media. The local population tends to blame such problems on politicians at the national level, especially Vladimir Meciar, former prime minister and leader of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). Meciar was removed from office last March by a parliamentary no-confidence vote, but is attempting a comeback in the national elections scheduled for the end of September.

Researchers and foreign analysts who have been keeping a close watch on the situation agree that relations between people in Slovakia are still very good. The major concern is the tendency of politicians to manipulate the issue for personal gain, which in turn increases tension and animosity between the groups.

"At the moment, the relationship between Hungarians and Slovaks is positive, but if politicians continue to

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(exploit the issue), the situation will deteriorate," says Stefan Sutaj, director of the Slovak Academy of History in Kosice.

Recent problems plaguing Hungarian-Slovak relations have included cultural and language rights, access to Hungarian schools, historical grievances and debates arising from proposals for the division of Slovakia into regional political units.

Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik's broad coalition government, which has ruled Slovakia since March of this year, cleared one symbolic hurdle with the adoption of a law allowing bilingual road signs to be posted in communities where ethnic minorities make up more than 20 percent of the population. A second provision includes an amendment to the language law that permits Hungarian women to drop the Slovak "-ova" ending from their surnames. However, larger and more controversial issues have yet to be dealt with.

Slovak nationalism is most forceful in the central part of Slovakia, where Meciar and his movement have their stronghold, but extremist sentiment is evident throughout the country. Although most of the problems that sparked debate arose in the heavily Hungarian-populated region of southern Slovakia, this is also the area where relations between Hungarians and Slovaks are at their best. The relative harmony is usually attributed to the greater personal interaction between the two groups.

"Slovaks who are in direct contact with individuals from the minority group, such as a neighbor, a relative, or a colleague, tend to be much more tolerant than those with little personal contact, who may see the minority as the enemy," says Sutaj.

Kosice, located in the eastern part of Slovakia, once had the largest Hungarian community in the country. Today, comprising just over 4 percent of the population, the Hungarian minority feels that its back is against the wall. Erika Vitez, owner of a Hungarian-language bookstore called Kultura, says that in Kosice, many Hungarians are afraid to speak their own language. On the street they speak Slovak, or lower their voices in order to avoid attracting attention.

This is one of the reasons Vitez opened Kultura. Although the store is not very profitable, Vitez feels she is providing a needed service to the Hungarians of the city.

"As long as there is a Hungarian bookstore, Hungarians have a place to go. It's a home where they don't have to be afraid to say what's on their mind," says Vitez.

The bookstore is not an impenetrable asylum, however. About once a week, someone comes in and creates a disturbance.

"It's usually very old or young people who come in and slam books around and shout 'Hungarians go home,'" Vitez says.

According to Vitez, many Hungarians living in Kosice have become disillusioned. Meciar's reign as prime minister was accompanied by an increase in anti-Hungarian rhetoric, some of which was echoed by the population. "After 1989, a great solidarity was built between the Hungarians and Slovaks in Kosice. Now I feel as if we are the enemy here."

The frustration pushed 100,000 Hungarians in Slovakia to sign a petition for greater cooperation among the Hungarian political parties. As a result, Coexistence (Egyutteles), the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party (MKDH) and the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS) joined forces for the coming elections.

Using the slogan "Vote for us, so that our birthplace will also be our home," the main aim of Coexistence, the largest political party within the Hungarian coalition, is to ensure that the Hungarian minority has sufficient legal rights to guarantee preservation of its language and culture and to ensure political equality between Slovaks and Hungarians.

Krisztina Reiter, a director of Coexistence in Kosice, expressed the dilemma bluntly when she said that Hungarians today feel alienated from the rest of the country.

"How can there be a democracy when 15 percent of the population are considered second-class citizens?" asks Reiter.

The coalition has suggested that a starting point toward change would be to alter the Slovak constitution, whose preamble reads "We, the Slovak Nation ..." Hungarian leaders have complained that this affirmation of national principles downgrades the status of minorities.

Although Reiter can sympathize with Slovaks' desire to build and strengthen their new nation, she does not want it to happen at the expense of the Hungarian minority.

"Until they realize that we are an integral part of Slovak society and we must all live together, there will be no democracy," she says.

One suggestion proposed by Hungarians involves political decentralization and the establishment of regional autonomy. This is a concept that strikes fear into the hearts of many Slovaks, who believe it would mean giving their southern territory back to Hungary. Slovakia was dominated by Hungarian rule for 1,000 years, until the end of World War I, and the ghost of political repression still haunts the country. (And Hungary's suppression of Slovak language and culture was far worse than Austrian treatment of Czechs.)

Meciar's proposal for a new political-territorial division of Slovakia stretching from north to south rather than from east to west angered ethnic Hungarians, who felt the plan was designed to divide the country in such a way as to make Hungarians a tiny minority in all regions.

Jozef Kvarda, mayor of Csenke and deputy chairman of Coexistence, firmly opposes Meciar's plan, stating that its goal is to weaken the political strength of Hungarians in Slovakia.

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Meciar's argument that dividing the country from north to south makes logical sense since rivers flow in this direction did not convince Kvarda.

"It is a poor excuse," says Kvarda. "Territorial division is done for people, not for fish!"

Kvarda was one of the key organizers of the controversial meeting of some 100 ethnic Hungarian mayors and local officials held in Komarno January 8 to discuss possible territorial autonomy for the southern region of Slovakia.

This meeting created an uproar among Slovak nationalists, but in the end, the demands made by the assembly were moderate: adequate Hungarian representation in public office; making Hungarian an official language in Hungarian-dominated regions; and guaranteeing that an adequate share of local funds from the state budget will go to the Hungarian minority.

Although no demand for political autonomy was made, the meeting was held up by some Slovak politicians as proof that Hungarians want to control southern Slovakia with the ultimate aim of having this region rejoin Hungary.

Slovak extremists such as Jozef Markus, chairman of the Slovak cultural society Matica Slovenska, called the assembly in Komarno the beginning of "ethnic cleansing" of Slovaks from the region, and described the creation of an autonomous territory as a "sick and impossible idea."

During the election campaign, Slovak nationalists have used the fear of Hungarian domination to persuade people to vote for parties with a Slovak nationalist platform. The results of the upcoming elections will determine to what extent the extremists have been successful.

Margarita and Jozef Hasaj have yet to see any real signs of intolerance between Slovaks and Hungarians in Rimavska Sobota, but they, too, are worried about the future. The restored statue of Tompa Mihaly gives them a sense of hope, but the chisel-gashes in his side are a graphic reminder of the problems that will not disappear.

Slovak Company To Build Vah River Links

94CH0440A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 27 Sep 94 p 12

[Article by Michele Kayal: "Slovaks Seek To Join Baltic, Black, Adriatic Seas"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Piestany, Slovakia—Imagine Europe's inland-waterways system as one of those triangles used by percussionists: a complete circuit except for a small piece missing from the lower right-hand corner.

As far as the Slovak company Savas is concerned, that missing piece is the river Vah.

The joint-stock company, formed in May, has launched a $230 million project to make Slovakia's second-largest river navigable and eventually provide a north-south axis for shipping in Central Europe.

If all goes as planned—and some glitches do remain—the company will have a system of 17 locks, 11 dams and 11 ports in place by the year 2005 that will allow ships to pass from the northern Slovak town of Zilina south 181 kilometers (112 miles) to Komarno, where the Vah joins the Danube.

The Danube already links Slovakia to the water routes of 13 European states.

After the domestic route is completed, company executives say they want to spend another $300 million to connect the northern part of the river to Poland's Oder river, creating a north-south axis that will link the North and Baltic seas to the Black Sea and the Adriatic. The Slovak and Polish prime ministers signed supportive rail and road agreements for the region in late August.

"(This region) ought to be a corridor for transportation—railway, road and waterway," said Milan Kurnocik, president of Economy Management International, which holds 19 percent of Savas and executed the feasibility study.

But at least one hurdle still remains.

For Savas' plans to go through, the Slovak government must allow Povodie Vahu, the state water company that holds a 34 percent share in Savas, to transfer some assets to the private enterprise. To date, all work done in the name of Savas, including a dam project at the southern town of Selice that will prepare the first leg of the river, technically has been ordered by Povodie Vahu.

Ron Bellamy, director of Euro Consultants International, a London-based project-financing firm and 32 percent shareholder in Savas, said Povodie Vahu has received a verbal agreement from government officials that at least $350 million in assets will be transferred.

Although the previous government gave an irreversible approval of the Vah project, transfer of the assets will remain uncertain until a new government is in place after elections scheduled for the end of this month.

Adapting the river for shipping would offer a faster and cheaper way for Slovakia's heavy industrial producers to get their goods to market. More than half of these manufacturers—and 26 percent of the Slovak population—are located along the river's banks.

A representative at ZVS Dubnica, which produced 2.7 billion Sk ($87 million) worth of hydraulic pumps, engine transmissions and other heavy machinery last year, said his company plans to use the river as soon as the construction reaches them in 1998.

"It will be less expensive," said ZVS spokesman Rudolf Ciprian, "and it will create transport to the whole world."

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ZVS currently uses road and rail to send goods to its main markets in Western Europe and Ukraine.

Water transport will account for more than half of Savas' revenues, as barges carrying an annual total of 484,450 tons per kilometer will pay a fee according to cargo weight.

The $22.4 million a year from shipping, plus $16.7 million in annual revenues after 2001 from a network of 19 power plants, is expected to give a 20 percent return on investment after 2003. Additional revenue will come in the future from three tourist resorts planned along the river's banks.

Savas plans to attract other producers—and more shipping activity—by creating a number of "special trade zones." Povodie Vahu general director Josef Banas said Savas has started discussions with the Slovak Ministry of Finance.

The waterway will be built in three stages.

Construction of the first link, a 71-kilometer stretch from the Danube town of Komarno north to Sered, began in 1993 with a dam and shipping chambers at Selice. It should open in 1997. Later this year, work is to begin on the 138-kilometer stretch from Sered to Puchov. In 1996, work will begin on the final 44-kilometer passage from Puchov to Zilina.

Some locks and dams are already in place from construction that has gone in fits and starts since 1938, especially in the river's middle section, where electricity from power stations and dams was most needed, Banas said. These existing facilities will be reconstructed.

The project was started with only $31.3 million in equity and will be loan-based, which partially accounts for the rigorous timetable.

While the link between Zilina and the Danube would certainly benefit Slovak producers, Savas executives' dream of bringing the waterway all the way to the Oder may stop short of the Polish border.

One international waterway official suggested that making the Vah into Central Europe's main north-south axis is not the best solution.

"The river Vah is rather limited in length," said Viatcheslav Novikov, economic affairs officer for inland waterways at the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva. "It's more of a national inland waterway."

Novikov believes a much more practical project is one already begun on the Morava river in the eastern part of the Czech Republic that will create a Danube-Oder-Elbe connection. A 12-kilometer leg of the Morava already extends to Vienna, although it is presently only used for recreational boating, and seven reservoirs are in place.

"It is the most simple and cheapest to build," Novikov said.

In January, a U.N. transportation committee gave its support to a four-year study of navigation possibilities on the Morava.

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MDF Official Criticizes Constitution Change

AU1310113194 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Oct 94 p 4

["csekeh"-signed interview with MDF deputy Laszlo Salamon; place and date not given: "Laszlo Salamon on the Constitution's Amendment—Four-Fifths Majority Is Desirable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The social-liberal coalition's program proposes the end of 1995 for drawing up the new constitution. According to the plans, a broad expert and social debate would precede this. In the light of this intention on the part of the government, it would be unsavory to note that the coalition, with its 72-percent majority, can impose a constitution on the opposition and the country corresponding to its own wishes.

However, this is not at all the case because Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] Chairman Ivan Peto stated a few days ago that he could not envisage a two-party constitution. Do we need a new constitution and, if we do, what strategy and concept does the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] have in preparing for the legislation? Is it possible that the opposition will walk out of the session of the Constitution Preparatory Committee if the coalition, in spite of its promises, ignores the opposition's views? We interviewed MDF deputy Laszlo Salamon on these issues.

[Salamon] Today in Hungary, we do not have a constitutional emergency. The political and constitutional conditions do not make it absolutely neccesary for Parliament to draw up a new constitution within a limited period of time. Nevertheless, we believe that, circumstances permitting, it would be good and positive to draw up a new constitution. We consider it important for the new constitution to be based on the broadest possible consensus, in other words, it should not be dependent on the political power structure of the day. It would be unacceptable if, using its 72-percent majority, the coalition of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the SZDSZ imposed its will on society.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Will the coalition be able to implement the new constitution in a democratic way? As Tamas Fricz [not further specified] said: Will the coalition be able to achieve a consensus on the contents of the constitution?

[Salamon] I can see a contradictory attitude on the government coalition's part: The words and statements—especially the earlier ones—are encouraging but the government's actual deeds do not correspond to these. Among these encouraging statements, I find [SZDSZ politician] Janos Kis's article significant where he said the following on drawing up the constitution: Parliament has to create a constitution that completes the change of the regime. At the same time, it is our current experience that the opposition is not being included in decisions to the slightest degree. The government has not coordinated the professional preparatory steps or consulted our experts. Although I did not intend to talk about voting for the legislative package on local government, I must mention it because it carries a negative message for us. Since the amendment of the constitution in 1989, this is the first time that a government coalition has amended key laws over the heads of the opposition's unanimous protest. The government loudly proclaimed that it would coordinate and strive for consensus. However, when it did not manage to gain the opposition's agreement on politically important issues, it immediately changed its tune and said that it does not need to come to an agreement with the opposition on every issue, the 72-percent majority sufficing. This is not a viable road on issues of constitutional importance and is irreconcilable with a democratic way of thinking.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] In view of the preliminary events, is it possible in your view that the opposition will walk out of the session preparing the constitutional legislation? In fact, can it do this? It would deprive itself of having the opposition's views reflected in the constitution.

[Salamon] With the acceptance of the amendment package on local government, the government coalition narrowed democratic rights in the area of electoral law and it changed the electoral laws to its advantage directly before elections. We chose to walk out because we were unable to express our protest with the necessary emphasis against all this in any other way. Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze's reply made it clear that the important opposition proposals would not be incorporated into the law anyway, so we would not lose anything by leaving the session. If the constitution is always remodeled by the majority of the day, this will lead to the government of the day, rather than the nation or the country, having a constitution. This issue has to be raised above daily politics. This is only possible in accordance with the way of thinking that was also expressed by Janos Kis. From this point of view, the proposal of the Federation of Young Democrats has the importance of a guarantee, because it says that the majority required to accept a constitution should be increased to four-fifths from the previous three-quarters. This would guarantee that the opposition is given a real role, rather than being used as a simple decoration on this issue. As long as we can hope that our proposals appear in the new constitution, it is our obligation to try to assert them by using the customary parliamentary means. I hope that we will not find ourselves in a situation in the future that would give us reason to walk out again, which is the last resort.

MDF Official Views Election Campaign Strategy

AU1110155394 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 8 Oct 94 pp 1,4

[Interview with Miklos Csapody, head of the MDF election campaign, by Apati and Bartal; place and date not given: "In the Squeeze of the Law"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] [UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In your view, what can the four opposition parties do in the period leading up to the local government elections?

[Csapody] President Arpad Gonez hastily signed the new law, a few minutes before getting the letter of the opposition group in Parliament. I must say that this local government law centralizes things too much and it hinders the local democratic processes, including the spreading of regular citizens' self-organization.

Therefore, the campaign of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] will focus on making the voters aware of the stakes involved. The MDF suggests that, taking into consideration real local interests and values, candidates with local programs should be supported. This means that we are not only thinking in terms of party candidates but also working on shaping a system of political alliances. This will be impossible in many places in this country because of the strained relations and the lack of confidence. Some parties have insatiable appetites.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Are the opposition parties seeking strategic or tactical allies?

[Csapody] The MDF is striving to form political alliances that look to the future. This can be done with a lot of good will, tact, and adequate political wisdom. This can also be the basis for a long-term cooperation among the opposition.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What is at stake at these elections?

[Csapody] Democracy, namely the extent to which we succeed in maintaining the normal processes that can make a local government body functional and the extent to which we can maintain the process of developing a bourgeois mentality under deteriorating circumstances.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] This week, four opposition parties have succeeded in presenting a common candidate in Szekesfehervar....

[Csapody] We do not give central orders, so the general meeting of every local organization has the right to decide alone on the means of cooperation. In my electoral district, this summer we already named the parties with which we refuse to form an election alliance under any circumstances. With other parties, however, we have started negotiations. A candidate was found in Szekesfehervar who is acceptable to all the opposition parties. This seems extremely simple but, if we look into the matter and see that all this had to be done without knowing the new election law, it can be seen that it was not an easy thing. Besides, election alliances are formed locally.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Budapest could be an opposite example.

[Csapody] The candidates for the position of mayor of Budapest are known but, because of the well known division of the opposition, coordination is more difficult. It seems rational that, if the negotiations get to a stage in which a political decision is made at the level of party chairman, the opposition parties will come up with a common candidate for the position of mayor.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In the meantime, preparations must also be made for the party's 8th congress.

[Csapody] Time is marching on.... We must not campaign nervously. Anyone who fights his own campaign involving only himself and disregarding the common goals of the opposition parties is making a political mistake.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What means are at the disposal of the MDF in the course of its campaign?

[Csapody] First of all, the limited group of experts and technical apparatus at our headquarters.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What about television?

[Csapody] No television.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Radio?

[Csapody] No radio, either.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] What about newspapers?

[Csapody] Sometimes it seems as if there were such a thing....

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President Walesa Gives Speech in Drawsko

WS1210144594 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY PREZYDENTA in Polish 2201 GMT 11 Oct 94

[Speech by Polish President Lech Walesa during the "briefing of the command cadres of the Polish Army" in Drawsko on 30 September: "President of the Polish Republic in Drawsko—Supplement"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dear Gentlemen,

Once again I am able to participate in your training briefing. Lately, I have frequently stayed among soldiers. I have visited military staffs, units, and training fields. Everywhere I went I saw very hard work and your commitment to performing your daily duties. I respect the effort the Army is making to enhance its skills, to improve our country's ability to defend itself.

It is with attention that I am following the process of transformation taking place in the Armed Forces. I approve of the measures that have been taken, and I fully support them. I realize that a great deal has already been accomplished. Today I have had the opportunity to observe soldiers in brigade combat structures in action. I can see that these new solutions are proving themselves in practice.

History has given us a unique chance today. Our borders are safe. Let us take advantage of this and not waste time. The Army cannot be reorganized when threats emerge, when the situation is no longer stable.

It is with distress that I must say that we are not able to take good advantage of this time. Most of the problems we tackled a year ago have not been resolved. I am thinking particularly of legislative issues. The legal regulations setting the rules of the functioning of the defense system stem, in many cases, from the previous epoch.

We still do not have a law on the general defense duty. We lack a clear division of powers of the establishments that are responsible for state security, for steering and commanding the Army. Appropriate provisions must be included in the Basic Law. I also mean detailed legal regulations, which are so important to Poland's security. These issues cannot wait any longer. For the system to be efficient, it must be steered well. The person responsible for the decisions that are made must be unequivocally specified.

You, gentlemen, know better than anyone else that a soldier ought to have just one commander. This is a fundamental condition for order in the Army.

I am concerned that expenditures on defense are too low. The condition of the armament of the Polish Army is also a serious problem. Much is being said about this. Everyone seems to understand it. Nonetheless, the technical degradation of the Army is progressing. There are no solutions that would make it possible to halt this process.

Today we have had the opportunity to see an exhibition of combat equipment—equipment manufactured by our arms industry. It is really on a high level. The problem is that we should not only view it at exhibitions; it should also find its way to the Army. Money for this purpose must be found. This will be beneficial for both the Armed Forces and the economy. Higher expenditures on armament purchases entail an increase in industrial production. This means lower unemployment in some parts of the country.

Gentlemen,

According to the Constitution, the president of the Republic is accountable for the state's external and internal security. Therefore, while democratic structures in our country were being constructed, the President's Office launched an initiative to prepare two basic documents that would determine the defense strategy and Poland's security. In November 1992, they were accepted by the National Defense Committee, of which I am the chairman. The documents are called "Guidelines of Polish Security Policy" and "Security Policy and Defense Strategy of the Republic." The directions that have been shown there not only are still valid, but also take the form of concrete steps aimed at integration into Western Europe, not only in the political sphere but also in economic and military areas.

Our country is located in the strategic center of Europe. Interests of many states and coalitions have clashed here for centuries. As a consequence of such a situation, Poland's security is determined not only by the regional, but also by the global configuration of forces. Such important entities of this configuration as the European Union, NATO, Germany, and Russia are very close to us.

The fundamental elements that determine the security in Europe today are: the West, which is integrated in the area of politics, economy, and defense; the military and political presence of the United States on our continent; and international organizations, the activity of which is conducive to creating an all-European system of collective security. Security is also determined by the situation in the East, which is unstable and in a state of disintegration, and where Russia is playing the dominating role. [passage omitted]

On many occasions when I watched military exercises, I became convinced that our Army is well trained. We have a good cadre and good commanders. In this area, we comply with European standards. This opinion is confirmed by evaluations of our units that take part in UN peacekeeping missions.

Gentlemen,

I have often said that I like being among soldiers. I am particularly fond of the Army. I respect you for your loyalty to Poland, for your wisdom in making decisions, for your responsibility in action. Politics is not discussed

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in the Army. Here people speak with great concern about issues that are vital to the homeland. This is as it should be. The Army must stand above all divisions. Its task is to defend the interests of the entire nation, not various political groupings.

I know your problems perfectly well, gentlemen. I know what you need. As president, I am responsible for the state's security. Therefore, it is my duty to take care of the Armed Forces and their defense capability. It is my constant concern. Unfortunately, I cannot promise today that you will get new armaments tomorrow, that you will have more money for training, that your material situation will improve, and that those who are waiting for apartments will get them.

I can assure you, gentlemen, however, that I fully support your activities for the good of the Republic.

At the same time, as commander in chief of the Armed Forces, I have the right to demand the resolution of issues that should have been resolved a long time ago. I must ask the questions over again: What hampers the adoption of the new "Law on the General Duty of Defending the Republic of Poland"? The constitution of the Army and of the defense system of the state? When will the Army know the political decisions concerning the provision of the elementary armament and equipment to the Army? Not only the Army, but also workers of the Polish arms industry are waiting for that. Why has no decision been made yet concerning the question of what use should be made of all kinds of immovable property, barracks, airfields, and so forth that the Army does not need? All of this property cannot become a cumbersome financial burden for the Armed Forces, and its protection cannot draw the military away from training and exercises.

I also believe that the construction of a national defense system without a civic program of educating young people, without specifying the role and place of paramilitary organizations, will be defective. Republics will be such as the education of their youth; this centuries-old adage is still valid. It is certainly easier to prepare questionnaires about the detrimental role of chaplains in the Polish Army and the alleged danger to the Army's morale in conducting religious services. Perhaps instead of doing this, it would be better to focus one's legislative efforts on the Charter of Soldier's Rights and Duties, on the officer's honor code, on the law on billeting the Armed Forces, on the establishment of an Agency for Military Property, on the law on professional military service.

As a former soldier, I realize that every one of us, including your subordinates, likes clear situations. I want to train and educate the Army—the Polish Army. I am entitled to demand that appropriate conditions be guaranteed to you so you can perform the duty of serving the Republic. When will the Army eventually see documents that would regulate its functioning? Why have such important documents as the Disciplinary Regulations and the Military Ceremonial not been prepared? I know that the General Staff prepared relevant proposals a long time ago. It is embarrassing and strange that this is blown up by the press, which puts the blame on people who, as I see it, have done their best to see that you obtain these documents.

I learn from newspapers and television that there are forces that are trying to preserve the old structures, forces that are hampering reforms. At the same time, as the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, I have not received, apart from the proposals of the General Staff of the Polish Army, any other constructive solutions. This is not how it should be. This is not the right road. I will not watch such practices passively. I will demand that everyone be accountable for his or her actual deeds, where issues far more important than the interest of a temporary party configuration is concerned, where the foundations of national existence, the state's defense, are concerned. [passage omitted]

Since this has been a lengthy speech, I want to add that I would like this speech to be understood well. I really do admire you because I know that in these difficult conditions, when the budget ignores military issues, you are really doing your best to protect Poland. One can understand everything: The country is being born again, politicians are learning politics. All of this is true. However, this subject must be brought up; this must be demanded so that issues that may cost us dearly in the future will not be neglected. Therefore, I would like to appeal to the government, to members of parliament. I realize that there is no frontal danger today, as I mentioned before. I know that we will not notice this, but we have not been given security forever. We must be prepared. We must predict dangers. Politicians must not ignore our voices. Therefore, I will do may best to be with you. I will do my best to assist your justified demands and strivings, to not ignore the chance that we have been given by history. I will do my best to be prepared, so that any murky intentions [zakusy] will be unthinkable. Thank you once again for what you are doing for the homeland. Forgive us that we happen to be living in such difficult times, that there is so much madness, resulting from the learning process. Forgive and endure it a little longer. At the same time, demand what the Army needs even more unequivocally. Now I would also like to thank very much General Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff, for 30 years devoted to the Army, for his model service. I would also like to thank all of the generals who have served in the Army for 30 years, as well—and their service has been as good as the general's. All the best to you, Generals, great sons of the Polish nation.

Gentlemen, I often make "faux pas." I have done it as far as Mr. Admiral [Defense Minister Kolodziejczyk] is concerned. I want to thank you, Admiral, for trying to serve the homeland as best you can. You were, are, and will be a friend of mine and certainly a friend of the soldiers. I deeply believe that you will serve Poland at various posts as well as you have done so far. All the best, Mr. Admiral.

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Kolodziejczyk, Wilecki Disagree About Drawsko

WS1310091394 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by Luiza Kowalska: "Military Talk Full of Lies; Kolodziejczyk: They Voted; Wilecki: We Did Not Vote"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Below we are publishing lengthy excerpts of yesterday's press conference with Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk and General Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff.*

Wilecki: I can assure you that there was not any coup in Drawsko, and that there will not be any. The Army is in favor of the idea of democratic control. It is in favor of a civilian minister, and all insinuations have been simply invented. I have no intention of running for president, no intention of being the defense minister, and no intention of changing one or another minister. (...) I believe, however, that in a small group, we, the military people, who have taken the oath of loyalty to the Republic, have the right and the duty to express our fears concerning state security.

Journalists: Because there was no coup in Drawsko, what was it?

Wilecki: There was a man-to-man talk. (...) I wanted to say one thing. We are very responsible people. Many of us remember the history, which is not all that old. We will not allow ourselves to be drawn into any games. We attach great importance to guaranteeing the nonpolitical character of the Army.

Journalists: You said that the Army is in favor of civilian leadership over the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. Does this mean support for the present minister?

Wilecki: I have never heard an opinion that the Army is against civilian control. We really did wait for the first minister, who was Jan Parys. The present minister is, thus, not the first one for us. However, we want our most basic problems linked to the functioning of the Army to be resolved. I suppose we have the right to expect this.

Journalists: Do you think Piotr Kolodziejczyk is not the right man to do that?

Wilecki: I did not say this.

Journalists: But we are asking you about it.

Wilecki: This is not my problem. It is not my task to appoint or recall a minister. If I began making statements on this issue, I would be engaging in politics.

Journalists: Are you going to cooperate with the minister?

Wilecki: If there is such a possibility, I certainly will—with pleasure.

Journalists: Was there a vote in Drawsko? How did you vote?

Wilecki: I do not think there was a vote.

Journalists: What was there, then?

Wilecki: There was nothing.

Kolodziejczyk: The subject of the so-called discussion at the famous Drawsko dinner were not the reforms in MON, but the president's request to issue an opinion on the civilian leadership over the ministry. After the generals made their statements, the president suggested that participants in the meeting give a thought to the problems discussed and present their opinions on the usefulness of civilian leadership of MON within a week. At that point, Gen. Wilecki protested. He stated that the situation had developed enough and that the problem could be resolved on that very day. Following this, the president ordered a vote. The question was: Should the civilian leadership of MON be recalled? All hands, except two, were raised.

Journalists asking Wilecki: Were hands raised at the dinner or not?

Wilecki: Let me reiterate that this was really a man-to-man talk.

Journalists: With or without the raising of hands?

Wilecki: ...

Journalists: Are you going to take orders from the present civilian minister of defense?

Wilecki: I have always taken orders, and I will still take them...

Kolodziejczyk: I deny this! I will present a special committee with examples of when Gen. Wilecki did not obey my orders.

Journalists: If what you are saying really happened, why did you not immediately fire the generals?

Kolodziejczyk: The issue is of tremendous national importance. Emotions and haste are not conducive to finding the right solutions, which would once and for all put an end to the games that took place, not only at the Drawsko training field. In Drawsko, the final game was played.

Journalists (after the conference): What do you call what happened in Drawsko?

Kolodziejczyk: It was some kind of frame-up.

Kolodziejczyk Interviewed

LD1210155994 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0700 GMT 12 Oct 94

[Interview with Polish Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk by Jolanta Kucharska on 11 October; place not given—recorded]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday the defense minister confirmed to the Sejm National Defense Commission press reports on the events in Drawsko. Following a motion from the president and the chief of staff, the generals voted for a refusal to obey Kolodziejczyk's orders. The Drawsko events are to be investigated by both a government and a special Sejm commission. Jolanta Kucharska was talking to Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk very late last night.

[Begin recording] [Kucharska] The president said on the Polish Radio First Program:

[Begin Walesa recording within recording of interview] I have not brought to light hundreds of other matters because of politeness, and it is a question of generals' honor, as well as my own, that has prevented this. Again, I am losing out here because I am not obnoxious, and, as I said, I do not drag all of the other factors out into the open. I want peace and I want reforms. Other matters are important. However, other people pick on fragments of the issue and not the whole issue. One could bring to light many things here.

This is not really my conflict. In fact, he was my admiral. I placed him in this position. He was dismissed as chief of the General Staff. Now he would like to do the same and dismiss the next chief of staff. What is the real issue here? You should have a broader outlook on the problems. You can see that there were at least a hundred reasons for my making this move. One of them was the fact that the law was not well prepared. For a year there has been no progress in this area. But this is only a fragment...[end Walesa recording]

[Kolodziejczyk] I have asked for contact with the president and for a discussion of very important subjects many times. The president did not find time for that. When the first signs of the conflict appeared, I also asked him to explain what his objections against me were. Nobody is without sin. I am also entitled to make mistakes, like any other man. At that time, the president only made an appeal, saying that we should close ranks in the name of the service to the country, which I tried to do. I am astounded and surprised by the violent manner in which these accusations have been put to me virtually from one day to another.

In fact, I cannot accept these accusations personally because it is not I who is dictating the pace of the legislative processes, and it is not I who decides the budget of the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. The participants in the meeting of the Council of Ministers, as well as the members of the Sejm National Defense Commission, know exactly what efforts I have made to improve this budget.

[Kucharska] How would you describe the conversation with President Lech Walesa on 10 October?

[Kolodziejczyk] The subject was not nice, so the conversation was not nice, but it took place in a very calm atmosphere. The parties exchanged their arguments. My argument boils down to this: If we do not put certain issues in order, certain rules of the game now, if we continue to procrastinate and put off legal regulations concerning the division of responsibilities, all of this will come back with a vengeance, in a way that is impossible to predict, and the functioning of the Armed Forces, as well as the well-being of the democratic state, will be affected.

The president was of the opinion that to resolve these matters now would not serve Poland's prospects for development well and that it would be better to hush up this matter. I replied that because it was I who had been blamed for certain shortcomings, oversights, and negligence, I did not intend to part with the ministry in such an atmosphere, and quietly. Hence, my decision and my reply to the president that I will be obliging, as I had said earlier. In normal circumstances, I would leave for personal reasons, but, in the situation that has arisen, I think the matters have to be fully clarified.

[Kucharska] Minister, how do you envisage further cooperation with the president and the chief of the General Staff?

[Kolodziejczyk] Let us try to be calm and leave emotions out of it. Emotions are not helpful when you want to find solutions. Personally, I do not blame the president. My only grievance would be that he persistently listened only to one side, and this has led him to not very sensible decisions, to put it politely, and to taking part in a certain game, which bears the characteristics of a breach of the rules of a democratic state.

[Kucharska] Who do you have in mind?

[Kolodziejczyk] Let us leave this question without an answer. Let the commission reply to this question. I am interested in bringing about an appropriate ending to this issue, after a thorough investigation is carried out.

When it comes to further cooperation, one cannot fulfill the duties of the minister of national defense well when there is a conflict with the head of the Armed Forces. The president asked me to resign. I shall oblige but, as I have already said, only after all of the circumstances of the incident and all of the mechanisms that had led to what happened are explained. I hope the Sejm commission will quickly uncover the mechanisms that were behind the situation that found its culmination in Drawsko and that the order that should prevail in a democratic state will be restored. I am using big words here but, this is a matter of great dimensions and importance.

[Kucharska] You said that one person's ambitions were involved and that that person, perhaps, gave bad advice to the president. And here two persons immediately spring to mind. Do you mean General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff, or Mieczyslaw Wachowski?

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[Kolodziejczyk] I am merely interested in those issues that apply directly to the Ministry of Defense. And let us be more precise. Maybe not just one person, perhaps a small group of people sharing irrational ambitions—irrational because they are exceeding the power-sharing system in this country.

[Kucharska] So it is a group of soldiers or officers?

[Kolodziejczyk] I am talking about them, precisely. I am not talking about the civilians for the time being, but I believe that during the commission's investigations certain cases will also be uncovered and revealed.

[Kucharska] So why did you not dismiss those generals who staged a putsch in Drawsko? Why did you not dismiss them instantly?

[Kolodziejczyk] First of all, I have no such legal possibility. The chief of the General Staff is recalled by the president, who is the supreme commander of the Armed Forces and who is acting in cooperation with the minister of national defense. Here, the minister of national defense cannot even take the initiative in this respect. Commanders participating in the meeting are hired and fired by the supreme commander of the Armed Forces following a motion by the minister of national defense.

[Kucharska] But you did not put forward such a motion?

[Kolodziejczyk] I did not put forward such a motion because this matter was not going to be the subject of any discussion until Monday, not to mention public discussion. The events took a different turn. Who was behind it I am not the one to say, but we are discussing certain facts. So there was no possibility of taking any steps before Monday, and, after all, I believe that such action would inflame and confuse the whole argument. The Sejm commission may formulate certain conclusions that have no executive power, but this is the first mild step to putting this matter in order. In a crossfire, these matters may get lost completely, there may be great chaos, and this would be the least desirable thing.

[Kucharska] Do you believe these people should leave the Armed Forces?

[Kolodziejczyk] I think we are dealing with certain facts that must, in consequence, lead to the resignation or dismissal of one or two people. I do not know; the investigation will show. Something very bad has happened, something that is threatening our democracy, and somebody must bear the consequences for it.

[Kucharska] Will the Army find money for the departure of Polish soldiers, Polish military gendarmerie, to Haiti?

[Kolodziejczyk] It was not the Army that made the decision to go because the Army is just an executor of political will. And whoever announces such a will should be able to find resources to finance the whole enterprise. The Army has a closed and exhausted budget. And, of course, you can fail to pay money to some manufacturer in Poland and use the money for the Haiti mission, but is it a real solution of the problem? Absolutely not. We will be penalized with interest charges, and this will only multiply our debts, which are not small today.

[Kucharska] This means that the Army has not got this money and will not give it?

[Kolodziejczyk] Let us not put this matter in such a way. The only way is to cancel an order or an enterprise and allocate the money for this purpose. The Army has no financial reserves, just like the government. In such a case, you have to take care in making decisions, political decisions in which the Army does not participate.

[Kucharska] Let us talk about the Brown amendment.

[Kolodziejczyk] I met Senator Hank Brown this year. We had very concrete and difficult talks. The senator turned to us after this visit with a request to make our expectations more specific, to say what equipment we need. He was given a full list of what we would be interested in. Experts are prepared to give full answers to the questionnaire that will have to be filled, of course, in full agreement with the General Staff, which will be the user of the arms.

[Kucharska] And will you be able to agree with the General Staff?

[Kolodziejczyk] So far, this cooperation has been progressing without reproach on those levels that involved individual experts of the General Staff. [end recording]

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Kolodziejczyk's Probable Successor Views Drawsko

WS1210153894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by M.D.Z.: "The Generals Were Subtle in Drawsko"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The commanding staff violated neither the law nor military etiquette when it demanded that activities within the Ministry of National Defense [MON] be rationalized," said Romuald Szeremietiew, leader of the Movement for the Republic [RdR], at a press conference.*

Romuald Szeremietiew, who is referred to as the probable successor to Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk, does not see anything inappropriate in the generals' behavior at the dinner held in Drawsko. The RdR leader would be ready to become defense minister if he had a real chance of reforming MON. At a press conference held yesterday, however, he repeatedly stated that no one has approached him with such an offer, either officially or unofficially.

If he did become minister, he would retain the General Staff within the MON structure and make its head deputy minister. He claims the president should be able to have some control over national defense. He does not know at this point whether he would be able to cooperate with Danuta Waniek because she has a "destabilizing influence."

"I do not have to convince you of my feelings for the Army or my qualifications," said Szeremietiew. "I foster contacts with high-ranking officers, and I know that the commanding staff believes I would make a good head of MON."

There was no revolt or coup d'etat at the testing range in Drawsko, according to the RdR leader. "Whenever reforms carried out by a commander in the military are going in the wrong direction, every officer has a right to appeal to a higher-ranking commander, and the generals appealed to the president," stated Romuald Szeremietiew. "The generals have pointed out wrongdoings within the military in a very subtle and fully legitimate manner. Unquestioning obedience in a democratic army is not a good solution."

Szeremietiew appeared at the press conference together with Andrzej Luszczewski of the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord, a party that is in coalition with the RdR within the Alliance for Poland, and Zygmunt Mogila-Lisowski, deputy chairman of the Sejm Commission for National Defense in the previous term. "The Brown amendment passed by the U.S. Congress is both favorable and dangerous to us. Once the Polish arms industry is ruined, we would purchase expensive, old, dilapidated toys from the West. Nobody knows for what we could use the F-16 fighter planes," said Mogila-Lisowski, who also spoke highly of the head of the General Staff, General Tadusz Wilecki (referred to as Walesa's man): "That man truly understands the need for the Army to cooperate with industry."

Walesa Interviewed on Current Issues

LD1210142294 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1513 GMT 11 Oct 94

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by unidentified correspondents on 11 October; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Following our earlier announcements, we shall now broadcast an interview with President Lech Walesa given to our program this morning.

[Correspondent] The conflicts that have occurred in the highest state structures in Poland in recent weeks can bring about a paralysis of the state.

[Second correspondent] Mr. President, your political opponents say you only feel well when you are involved in fighting and not in construction. Don't you feel guilty about the situation that has arisen?

[Walesa] You will be surprised to hear, gentlemen, that I feel guilty. For we must be aware of the fact that we are working on the constitution and on the system that will be in force in Poland. One must not allow a situation where the system will be built solely by politicians, missing many elements that must be regulated.

After the great victory over communism, of which I was in charge, I now endeavor to give Poland a decent system. Such a system will not be built by sitting and discussing things in cafes. The whole nation should be involved, and the nation must know what is at stake in this game. For this reason, for the sake of this, I am raising these issues.

[Correspondent] Don't you feel responsible for the situation that has arisen?

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[Walesa] I said I feel responsible, but I am doing it on purpose because there is all this work on the constitution and on the political system in the country. Otherwise, this system remains the same as it is now, where there is stagnation, and it is not known who is responsible for what. How many times have I read in newspapers that it is not known who governs Poland?

That is why, as someone who has done something in this country, I cannot allow a situation where citizens do not know who is really governing the country. This is what governing is all about. For this reason, the elements of power and the political system have to be highlighted, so the nation can make the right choice. That is why I do feel guilty, but not in the meaning that it is about a game and ambition or my election as president. The aim is to build a system that will be in force for a long time. Such a system will not be built if we sit politely and say yes all the time.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, it is becoming increasingly clear that your reservations concerning Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak are growing.

[Second correspondent] What you said a moment ago manifests this, as well. One can also recall your words when Waldemar Pawlak was in the process of being appointed prime minister—that he was young and we would not be able to cope. Do you think this is still the case?

[Walesa] I would not like to assess Prime Minister Pawlak yet. A year is not a sufficiently long period, and he really is a young man. However, it seems to me that it is not a normal situation where, for almost a year, there has been no police commander. I have been raising this issue and pointing out to the nation: Look, this is not acceptable; this is dangerous. Give some thought to how to give support to one of the trends and which will be more effective. Judging by many such cases, the same thing has happened to privatization and other areas. I have been pointing this out and saying that such a manner of governing the country cannot be popular and something has to be done about it. It is not just Pawlak's fault. It is the fault of the system we are creating and to which final touches have not yet been put.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, let us ask this question right now: Do you think this government used up all of its opportunities to act and now new solutions have to be found?

[Walesa] Not only that, but also even with new solutions we can see that they cannot be implemented. In the old constitution, before the Small Constitution, I had the right to recall a government or a prime minister. This right was taken away from me. Today, if the system were stable, I would certainly ask for a change of the government because what is going on in the country is not a regular occurrence. However, I am not saying that because I want to change the government. I am saying it to point out a mistake in the system, which does not allow any movement.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, when you received the Strategy for Poland drafted by this government, you said it was one of the best documents you had had in your hands in the past few years. What is your opinion now?

[Walesa] You have forgotten that earlier I added another thing. I judged it as a construction—the best we had in five years. However, I did not assess the essence because to do that we need deeper discussion and we need to have a better look at certain issues. As far as the construction and consistency were concerned, it was and still is the best document of the past five years.

[Correspondent] Have you read this document in detail, or is it still a construction that is not very concrete?

[Walesa] Of course, I know it. If I were doing some of those things, I would do them differently. It is not only about me as an individual getting to know it, but also specialists from many fields should get to know it. My concept was and still is different. I was saying that during a time of changes, and also, generally speaking, pillars of the state have to be defined. Any construction or renovation work has to be started with pillars. The rest, walls, can be filled, moved, and changed, but pillars cannot be changed because the house will collapse.

This is not expressed there. In the Strategy or in any long-term vision, I would support my idea. Similarly, privatization. I was convinced, and I think I made a mistake as far as this political configuration goes that, if postcommunists, who often said they were behind the nation, for the nation, for the proletariat, had the power, they would carry out mass privatization. For those who were cheated by reforms or were not given a chance, they would be given chances because the postcommunists had been saying this for 50 years. However, this did not happen. There is no mass privatization. Society has been outmaneuvered. Everything goes the way it should not.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have never had friendly feelings toward communists, but not so long ago, and completely unexpectedly, you came to an agreement with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] with regard to the Small Constitution. However, at the Solidarity congress, you said the Left leg had grown too much. One is of the impression that your political moves are inspired by political gains.

[Walesa] No. I want, I wanted, and I shall attempt to build a normal system, where there are communists, postcommunists, and where there are criminals, as well as people who are unaware and who are not criminals. I wanted to create normal conditions for all of them, for some in a jail and for others, conditions to work for the country and for all in the same direction, not by elimination and not by pushing them into the underground to become moles. I was creating such conditions. However, today one can say that those who were most active failed to take advantage of this honest opportunity. In my opinion, they placed themselves in dishonest positions and places. One will have to bring all this to light, and

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then it will turn out that my idea was right, but the wrong people were implementing it.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, at the moment, you are the only person taking part in a full-fledged presidential campaign for the election next year. One could see at the Solidarity congress that you were trying to gain support of those circles, but the reception you received there was quite cool.

[Walesa] If an ordinary man asked this question, I would think: Perhaps this is what he thinks. However, you are a person in charge of news. You should be able to notice that I was pushed into making a definite statement, and the first question was whether I would run as a candidate. I wanted to deal with this subject once and for all, so people would stop asking me whether I would be a candidate. I said I would and I shall now be left in peace.

However, if you take a closer look, it is in fact other people who are fighting on the political scene, and they are fighting a very unfair game. If you look at what the Sejm speaker is doing, you could say that he uses every opportunity to attack the president. Take the latest issue concerning Defense Minister Kolodziejczyk: How can the Sejm speaker say that he supports the minister without knowing anything about the matter? So, at every opportunity, whenever he can, he visits Jasna Gora to show how good he is. It is a despicable and dirty fight. I have never criticized the speaker or any other people taking part in the campaign. So, what gives him the right to attack me? I will start doing the same.

He has so many other matters to deal with, matters concerning law and legal instruments, also in the military sphere. What has he achieved, apart from organizing rallies, touring, and seeking support, apart from conducting an election campaign? It is he who is conducting an election campaign, together with several other people, and not I. I am trying to resolve problems and discuss subjects that need regulating.

Of course, everyone says I am conducting an election campaign. If I were conducting an election campaign, I would allow a scuffle [bijatyka] in the Ministry of Defense or negative trends in the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiTV]. I would not touch any of that. Why should I jeopardize my own case? I am doing it all because I want to put these relations in order because, if a certain trend had prevailed within the National Broadcasting Council, one company would have gotten almost everything, and there would be no room for anybody else. This was the direction—future frequencies were promised, and so on. It was quite clear to me. For this reason I could not agree with it. Despite the price I have to pay, I am trying to do something in this country. Yet others only attack every move, use every opportunity to conduct an election campaign. I say to you gentlemen: Take note of all of this.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, to put it briefly, are you counting on the support of Solidarity unionists?

[Walesa] I am counting on common sense, and I am counting on a demonstration of what work is being done and what the struggle is about. Everyone should support what he thinks is right. I shall fully fulfill my role, honestly and well.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have said that there were irregularities in the work of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [KRRiTV], and a moment ago you also mentioned the Army. However, there is a general feeling that Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk has not really failed. The reforms in the Army, which, one must admit, are not being carried out very speedily, are not being carried out not simply because he has failed. It is the others who have not given him the right tools. So why is his dismissal necessary, in your opinion?

[Walesa] I have not brought to light hundreds of other matters out of politeness, and it is a question of the generals' honor, as well as my own, that has prevented this. Again, I am losing out here because I am not obnoxious, and, as I said, I do not drag all of the other factors out into the open. I want peace and I want reforms. Other matters are important. However, other people pick on fragments of the issue and not the whole issue. One could bring to light many things here.

This is not really my conflict. In fact, he was my admiral. I appointed him to this post. He has been dismissed as chief of the General Staff. Now he would like to do the same and dismiss the next chief of staff [General Wilecki]. What is the real issue here? You should view the problems in a broader context. You can see that there were at least a hundred reasons that made me make this move. One of them was the fact that the law was not prepared well. For a year, there has been no progress in this area. But this is only a fragment of the entire matter, and you, as journalists, should view it in a broader context and not get dragged into Oleksy's or anybody else's election campaign because they are doing it to score Brownie points, ridiculously insignificant points.

[Correspondent] Let us return to the questions connected with the election campaign. What support can Lech Walesa count on in the presidential election? We know, having followed political life here, you can count on some support from the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR]. But what about the right wing? For example, Lech Kaczynski, leader of the Center Alliance [PC], said that he will not support you.

[Walesa] Parties like Kaczynski's, parties of armchair politicians, just like that armchair across the room, do not constitute any real support. I am counting on the healthy streak in the nation that can see the stagnation and the fact that things are not going well. They can also see my enormous struggle not for my own post but for the benefit of the country's affairs. I hope I will be judged fairly by the masses. They will have to notice this and not be overcome by emotions, like some of these politicians.

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[Correspondent] Which opponents in the election campaign do you consider dangerous?

[Walesa] There are still 18 months to go. So many people, who almost took my presidential chair away from me, have already been on this stage. Now there is Jozef Oleksy and some others, like Deputy Sejm Speaker Aleksander Malachowski. One could name several more. But in 18 months' time, there will be completely different people. These people will definitely be forgotten because their fighting methods will be so clear to the nation that they will not stand a chance.

Let us not think about the election today because, as I said, there are still 18 months to go. Let us think about the fact that we are creating the constitution, that the nation is increasingly fed up with all of this and is expecting an effective government. So far, there has not been an effective government.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, Opinion polls usually say the truth. According to the latest, President Lech Walesa has little chance of winning the election. What do you think of these polls?

[Walesa] I am not running the election campaign as yet so I am not exposing any elements that should be exposed. Afterwards, I will ask to be judged just as others will have to be judged. My abilities and what was at stake will have to be assessed. I trust the wisdom of the nation, and I believe that, if arguments are put forward, and things that happened are shown and explained, I am not afraid of the final judgement. I am not fighting to be president. I am fighting to build a system in this country and find a man who today is manipulated, cheated, and whose living standard is low.

[Correspondent] Mr, President, opinions about you vary in the country, but you are very popular abroad, particularly in the West. However, something is lacking. We mean investments. One would imagine that you are a guarantor of very sympathetic treatment from Western capital. However, we have very few Western investments in Poland.

[Second correspondent] This capital is coming to Poland too slowly.

[Walesa] No, gentlemen. Please look more closely. We are not able to welcome the capital. We cannot use the capital. I have stopped collecting the capital because I can see we are paying interest. The money is not being used, and the nation will have to pay for it. This is why the system is inefficient and ineffective, and this results in our not not using the power of our means of production. That is why we are talking about the system today—the system of government and the exercise of power that has to be improved and written into the constitution.

[Correspondent] Talking about Polish problems, Mr. President, when you watch the Polish political scene, do you think there is finally a chance to bring order to it and create a truly democratic Poland?

[Walesa] There is a chance, but not the same chance we had at the beginning of the reforms. We had to, under my leadership, sit at the roundtable out of necessity. It is characteristic of power that nobody wants to give it up. Those groups that sat at the roundtable have been protecting themselves until now, and new groups are not emerging. Old solutions that were put forward and implemented out of necessity are only being modified. As long as the nation does not form larger parties, does not support them and get involved, those arguments will continue between ambitious, too ambitious, politicians. Nothing can be resolved without setting up a better party system and greater involvement.

[Correspondent] I again return to international issues. We have talked about the West, and now I would like to talk about the East. You had a chance to set up good relations with Russia. It seemed that Boris Yeltsin's visit to Warsaw and the joint statements were a kind of breakthrough. Russia was already agreeing to our membership in NATO and the European Union. However, later there was some kind of delay and an attempt to force through our NATO membership. Later, there was your great success during the Warsaw Uprising anniversary and again disappointment after Russia's behavior. Why is it that a breakthrough with this partner is not possible and that these relations cannot be put on a new and normal footing?

[Second correspondent] Why are we unable to achieve normalization on the Eastern border?

[Walesa] It is not quite as portrayed. We have many internal troubles, and Russia has even more. Until we sort things out, we cannot open up to the outside world. The better we sort out our problems, the more we can open up to the outside world. And it is exactly the same for Russia. And this is the main reason for this. But again, are we sorting things out? You are talking about great successes. They were indeed great, both the visit to the Netherlands and big successes in general. However, those fighting for the presidency and for their petty interests are destroying it all. They are destroying it because our system is inefficient and divided. Nobody knows who is in charge and who rules in this country. This is why we are destroying the great assets and opportunities ahead of us.

Similarly, we are destroying the cooperation with Russia and other countries only because the system is not efficient and power is wrongly divided. Our bad system creates this situation. Some say the parliamentary-cabinet system is the right one. I think that, for the present and for a long time ahead, we need strong rule, and the presidential system is the only one that can control all of this and sort it out. But the majority of those fighting for posts think differently because, in chaos and in incompetence, one can always avoid responsibility and decisions. Such people thrive in such

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conditions. I think the nation will notice this and, just as in the past few months, it is demanding stronger government. And stronger government is possible only if the system is changed or the law is broken. I try not to break the law. I sometimes sail close to the limits of the law, but I am always guided by aims and not by private ambition.

[Correspondent] A strong rule does not at all mean a dictatorship.

[Walesa] No. But the United States is the mainstay of democracy, and the president there rules on everything, and everything is OK. Democracy there may be the best and the nicest, but the system is completely a presidential one. Because we have such arguments, incompetence, because we fail to appoint the police commander or a minister, because it is impossible to recall members of the [National Radio and TV Broadcasting] Council, and so forth, we have to create a system that will be capable of acting quickly. It has nothing to do with dictatorship.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, if you obtained all of these instruments of power, you would have your own powers and the powers of the government. What actions would you take besides those you have already mentioned—that is, the mass privatization? What else would you do?

[Walesa] I have announced my programs, and I would like to implement them, but I do not have a system whereby I could implement all of these. And I know I am capable of doing it. That is why I demand a presidential system—simply because I want to implement this, and because I can do it.

On the other hand, others do not come forward with such programs. They put forward programs that are watered down simply because they are incapable. They do not have either a concept or a vision. But I do. If I feared responsibility, I would just say: I agree with such a system, I would take my share, and so forth.

And you see me fighting, which means that I want to do something, that I have a concept, both an economic and a political one and even a concept to solve those scandals we have been witnessing. But I do not have the executive power. That is why the fight continues—because I want to do that, and I am capable of doing it, but I do not want to break the law. I do not want to act in a dictatorial manner. I want the law and democracy to let me have the powers to govern firmly. So far, I have not obtained such powers. Hence, everything that is bad falls on me.

On the other hand, if I did not have the executive powers, I would have to break the law. And if I touch anything on the fringes of the law, there is an outcry that the walls are shaking.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, will you want to stimulate the Poles into action? In connection with this, will you return to the idea of 100 or 300, or, because of inflation now, maybe even several million?

[Walesa] Society must receive the assets. They have been divided unjustly at present. And that is why I will demand the same, with the exception only of those who are already in possession of these, those who managed to get rich and are currently taking three salaries from different places. Such people cannot be included in the division of assets because they have already obtained their share.

You have to include the rest of society, and all of them must be given the chance for an equal start because the nation was not given an opportunity for an equal start. Only the crafty people, crooks, and postcommunists were given such chances. This is how it looks today. It does not mean that all of them are cheats; it does not mean that all of them are so bad. No, but many inappropriate people are in inappropriate posts.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, when will you officially speak to the nation in the already announced television address?

[Walesa] We are, of course, preparing ourselves for it. It is difficult at present to choose a concept because, if I opted for such an aggressive one as today, the electoral campaign or maybe even a revolution might begin. I do not want a revolution. I want to achieve my goals through evolution. On the other hand, I want to sort out the issue of social awareness. That is why, among other things, I am giving this rather aggressive interview, but it is an interview and not my stance that could spark off certain processes and even lead to a revolution. I want to avoid such a thing.

[Correspondent] In the address you have just mentioned, will you attempt to sort out the Polish political scene and economic issues?

[Walesa] Of course, I have not changed my program. I would only like society to notice what I do, consider selecting a system, and stop accusing me. If society wants me to implement it and has grievances against me, it must give me executive powers. When it gives me executive powers, I will do it.

[Correspondent] From what you said earlier, one can sense that it is difficult for you to talk to Waldemar Pawlak. Is it really so, or do you mean that Monday meetings do not always, as it were, push things forward?

[Walesa] I will once again return to the fact that it is the system that prevents me from having any possibility of prompting Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and his government. I have no such possibilities. I can only ask him, and that is it. On the other hand, if I had a system of prompting them, if I were included in the executive system, there would be a chance for me to act—or there would be a change of horses.

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[Correspondent] You could, for example, lead government meetings more frequently. You could come to the Council of Ministers and exert pressure and lead the ministers.

[Walesa] Yes. We can talk about this. But I still have no executive power, and they can come to such meetings or not do so. They will come once to such a meeting, but they will not come again, or they will do as they please. Our system is bad; it does not allow for efficient governing. You will either have to abolish the president and then let the prime minister be responsible, without throwing everything at the president, or, on the other hand, he would be unable to do anything about those important and key issues because, if I take part in consultations to appoint ministers and then have no possibility of dismissing them, what opportunity is this for me? Dismissal is more important than appointing because you have this whip, because you can see that, if things go badly, you can react immediately. And if there are no such powers, each person does what he wants, and you have to use a tractor to drag him from his post.

[Correspondent] You could conclude that President Lech Walesa has no possibilities for action.

[Walesa] It is not quite so. I have the possibility to act, to receive delegations, to help, and I have the possibility to be negative. I can use vetos, I can disagree, but I have no possibility for constructive action. The presidential office was set up legally in such a way that the president can be destructive and oppose things only. Of course, he can, as you have said, attend government meetings and sing there. On the other hand, there is no possibility of implementing this. [sentence as heard] There are no such possibilities. That is why you have to think about the organization of the system.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you also are accused, for example, of not putting forward too many legal drafts to the Sejm, of not being too active in parliament, either, and of not using this instrument in your actions.

[Walesa] My dear sir, it is because of the system, which is arranged in such a way that the prime minister and the government and the parliament have the final say. My every lateral shot exposes me to accusations that it is a different concept, that something completely different is at issue, that I am taking up somebody's time, that I am making action difficult, applying the brake to government concepts, and so forth. This is because I am not included in the whole arrangement. That is why, whatever the situation is, I cannot shoot laterally because I am accused of being destructive, of destroying the pace of work of the government and the Sejm.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, on behalf of our listeners, we would like to thank you very much for the conversation and the meeting.

[Walesa] Thank you very much and good-bye.

Walesa Wants Strong Presidential Rule

WS1310102994 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik: "Walesa's Plan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *President Walesa wants to have authority to appoint and dismiss the heads of four ministries: the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense [MON], the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Justice Ministry. The president is trying to change the system by a "method of accomplished fact," revealed Lech Falandysz, the Belweder's lawyer, yesterday.*

"The press is writing about all of these personal squabbles, about Markiewicz and Kolodziejczyk, while the system of this country is at stake," said Minister [as published] Falandysz yesterday, presenting the Belwederian model of presidential rule before 15 political enthusiasts gathered at a meeting held by the Club of Political Thought at a factory in Ursus.

Presidential Ministries Must Remain Presidential

"The Constitution makes the president responsible for the raison d'etat," Falandysz explained, "but currently this does not translate into practice."

The Small Constitution states that the president "guards the sovereignty and security of the country, the inviolability and indivisibility of its territory, and the observance of international agreements." That is why the Constitution includes a provision that the ministers of foreign affairs, internal affairs, and defense are nominated after "asking the president for an opinion."

"These ministries are commonly known as 'presidential,'" said Falandysz. "But the president has no executive power over them. He cannot even dismiss the ministers."

Therefore, Falandysz is suggesting a presidential-cabinet system. The head of state would directly supervise, apart from the ministries currently regarded as presidential, also the Ministry of Justice (because the president is responsible for domestic security). The president would have the authority to appoint and dismiss heads of these ministries.

The government would be responsible only for the economy, finance, and social security.

Walesa May Become Head of MON

The Army would be administered according to the U.S. model. "Because politicians claim they want a civilian to head MON," says Falandysz, "it may well be Walesa. After all, he is a civilian president."

The Army would be directly supervised by Walesa, and the minister of defense, if such a function were retained at all, would be his subordinate. The head of the General Staff would have to follow his orders.

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"Walesa wants to put this model into effect with premeditation," Falandysz explained. He admitted that the president was trying to change the system in Poland by a "method of accomplished facts" and is "acting on the verge of law in full consciousness."

"It does not matter who will be president—Kwasniewski, Miller, Parys, or Strzembosz. We want to develop this model regardless of who wins," said Falandysz, immediately adding that "everyone knows there is only one serious candidate for president."

MON, MSW Officials Comment on Brown Amendment

WS1110113194 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by "CEG": "When Will We Have Weapons From the United States?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Poland submitted to the U.S. Government a list of things it needs in the military area as early as last year. The situation has changed so much that there is no longer a political barrier between us," ZYCIE WARSZAWY learned from Andrzej Karkoszka, head of the Department of Strategic Studies in the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. He was asked when Poland will take advantage of the possibilities that have arisen for us now that the U.S. Congress has passed the so-called Brown amendment. As a result of the amendment, the Visegrad Group states will be able to receive surplus arms from the United States and get the most modern U.S. combat equipment.

"The Brown amendment is only one step to enhance the compliance of our Army with the standards applied in the West. However, the weapons will not be given away for free. Someone will have to pay for them—either Poland or the United States," Karkoszka says.

To obtain the weapons, we will have to present the Americans with detailed plans of how they are to be utilized. According to Karkoszka, there is a possibility for us to get the weapons early next year. However, before that, MON and the General Staff must hold talks with the appropriate institutions in the United States. Moreover, we will have to prove that the arms will not "leak" out of Poland.

Wladyslaw Klaczynski, head of the department of promotion and information at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also expressed his satisfaction with the fact that the amendment had been passed. "We are not surprised; this was a logical consequence of many previous steps. The most important thing about the adopted amendment is not the possibility of getting surplus arms but the fact that Poland is from now on treated as an ally of the United States," he said.

Sejm Approves Law on Treaty With Lithuania

LD1310103994 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0800 GMT 13 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Sejm is discussing ratification of the treaty on friendly relations and good-neighborly cooperation with Lithuania. Over to our reporter Henryk Walczak:

[Walczak] The Sejm already passed the law on ratification of the treaty between the Polish Republic and the Republic of Lithuania. The law was passed with 295 votes for, none against, and no abstentions. [passage omitted]

Media Coverage of First PFP Maneuvers

95P20030A

[FBIS Media Note] Over 900 soldiers representing 13 states, among them NATO members United States and Germany as well as signatories to the Partnership for Peace (PFP) such as Poland, Romania, and Lithuania, took part in maneuvers called "Cooperative Bridge '94," hosted by Poland at the Biedrusko training grounds near Poznan from 12 to 16 September. A press center serving about 500 journalists was set up in Poznan to cover the four-day-long exercises. (POLSKA ZBROJNA 23 Aug)

Speaking at the closing ceremonies, President Lech Walesa praised the exercises as an expression "of new thinking about political and military cooperation about matters of European security," noting also that "it is proof that the PFP is acquiring a real and practical shape." He stressed "particular satisfaction" with and emphasized "the historical significance" of the fact that such exercises could take place in Poland, outside NATO territory. "For the first time, soldiers of the armies that until recently belonged to opposing political-military blocs have met in joint exercises," Walesa stated, which "constitutes a good prognosis for the future and is an important step in the construction of mutual trust." Walesa said that, while the exercises are "building bridges," the aim "is unification, integration with the West, and membership in NATO," as reported by PAP on 16 September.

The news media widely covered the PFP exercises in Biedrusko, giving them high visibility. According to reports, military observers from 21 countries were present at the exercises, and as many as 150 important guests "from the world of politics and the military" were present during the official ceremonies. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak stressed that, for Polish society, PFP activities are very important because they are viewed as "preparations for deepening and widening Polish cooperation with NATO." Pawlak also pointed out how PFP participation can "bring Poland closer to Western security organizations, and that the results of this cooperation could be employed in maintaining good

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relationships with all of our neighbors." (POLSKA ZBROJNA 13 Sep)

The exercises were intended to train troops for "classic operations that are part of the peacekeeping and humanitarian missions of the UN or the CSCE" and to acquaint them with rules of observation and reconnaissance, patroling territory, monitoring, convoying and escorting personnel and equipment, setting and keeping observation of checkpoints, methods of controlling refugee-crossing borders, and marksmanship. The sharpshooting competition was the only aspect of these maneuvers that had a primarily military character. The exercises were based on cooperation instead of competition, and "not even rivalry between soldiers from individual countries" was a rule scrupulously observed in every event. All participants were divided into five international companies, each consisting of four platoons, with the commander of each company representing a different country. The units traded roles every day, so that each company would have training in the all exercises. (POLSKA ZBROJNA 9-11 Sep)

The idea of equality in tasking and execution was expressed at the closing ceremonies when President Walesa handed out awards to all 13 country participants. (PAP 16 Sep)

The maneuvers were conducted under a joint leadership of Polish and American officers and under the direct command—in English—of Major General William Carter, commander of the First Armored Division, and General Brigadier Zygmunt Sadowski, chief of staff of the Silesia Military District. The exercises took place under the auspices of the Supreme Allied Commander of Europe (SACEUR), General George Joulwan, and under the supervision of the commander in chief of the NATO Allied Forces Central Europe (AFCENT), General Helge Hansen. (PANORAMA, Second TV Network, 12 Sep)

Evaluation and Comments

The Bratislava daily NARODNA OBRODA (16 Sep) described participation of a Slovak mechanized platoon and a Czech rapid deployment unit in these PFP exercises. Major Miroslav Regula, the Slovak observer in Biedrusko, viewed the participation of the Trebisov-based 55th Mechanized Unit in the exercise as "the rightstep toward implementing the objectives of the PFP program and integrating Slovakia into NATO." The Slovak platoon commander First Lieutenant Martin Stoklasa was quoted as saying that in this first direct comparison of training levels of Slovak draftees and foreign professionals, "our soldiers passed the test with flying colors; in many cases they were even more flexible in their approach than others."

Radio Bucharest on 16 September aired an interview with Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca, also an observer of the Biedrusko exercises, who said that opinions on Romanian participation and behavior were "very good." Tinca was "convinced" that cooperation would continue and intensify "along practical and concrete lines in the coming year" and that Polish and Romanian soldiers would take part in "other joint exercises within the PFP."

The Poles, who hosted the maneuvers, stressed their "political dimension": "It is important," said Minister of Defense Piotr Kolodziejczyk, "that soldiers from 13 countries will meet in Poland for the first time within the framework of PFP. We interpret this event as a kind of recognition of our activeness in the implementation of the idea of PFP." While acknowledging that the scale of the exercises may not be large, Kolodziejczyk noted that "their significance is deep." Chief of Staff General Tadeusz Wilecki emphasized the importance of what he called "a test of our organizational abilities to cooperate in an international configuration." (POLSKA ZBROJNA 16 Sep)

The U.S. side was impressed by "the good organization and professionalism of the Polish officers" who organized the exercises "in just over a month," said Major Zbigniew Litynski of the U.S. Army. The Biedrusko exercises proved that the differences in armaments used by individual armies were not an obstacle to integration with NATO. Most of the equipment was "largely compatible" and the Russian-made Kalashnikovs "impressed Westerners." As one of the U.S. commanders, L.D. Walker, said, "NATO expansion is hampered not by arms differences but by political issues." (THE WARSAW VOICE No. 39, 25 Sep)

NATO officials Anthony Cragg, assistant to the NATO general secretary, and Sir Michael Stear, present at the closing ceremonies, avoided, however, making any statements about the integration of Poland and other East European countries into NATO, saying only "that we have taken yet another step toward a united, stable and safe Europe." Cragg expressed hope that Poland "through participation in PFP is on the right path to full membership in NATO." Program PFP assumed the "initiative" to spread ideals of universal peace, stability and freedom in all Europe and must be recognized as a "success", especially in regard to all the countries that "wish to participate in it." (POLSKA ZBROJNA 19 September). General Joulwan appealed to the soldiers "to be spokesmen of the vision of a peaceful Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals." (PANORAMA Second TV Network 16 Sep)

Reinhold Vetter's commentary in the Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT of 13 September, titled "A New Epoch," cast a sidelong glance at the exercises by noting that the military function of the Biedrusko maneuvers was "almost banal" and comparing the number of soldiers participating in the maneuvers to about "the strength of a battalion." "Such exercises," he noted, "take place in

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the West almost every day without even being noted by the local press." He pointed out that Poland, by "taking the initiative," was "confirming its trailblazing role" in rapprochement between NATO and the East European-states. NATO, on the other hand, saw to it that the "exclusive subject of the exercise is peacekeeping," specifically, tasks "within the UN framework." Again stressing the political over the military function of the exercise, Vetter added, "By no means are joint defensive measures of NATO and its new partners at issue" in the Biedrusko maneuvers.

Vetter concludes by acknowledging that while Poland's striving for NATO membership is well known, its military must overcome "negative legacies" from its former membership in Warsaw Pact. He advised that "it is only reasonable" that this military be given time "to adjust to Western conditions."

Jaruzelski To Have Operation After Attack

LD1210171094 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski was hit on the head with a stone yesterday, while signing one of his books in a Wroclaw bookshop. The attacker's name is Wiktor Helski, a cofounder of the Farmers' Solidarity and a former member of the Polish Peasant Party.

General Jaruzelski was moved today from a Wroclaw hospital to a military hospital on Szaserow Street in Warsaw. On Friday he will probably undergo an operation because his jawbone was broken. Consequently, the general has been unable to take part in the celebrations commemorating the 51st anniversary of the battle of Lenino. The attacker may go to prison for a period of between six months and five years.

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Government 'Solidarity' With U.S. Gulf Policy

AU1210121694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At his weekly news conference, Mr. Mircea Geoana, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, read a statement of the Foreign Ministry on the current situation at the border between Iraq and Kuwait. The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted its concern over the latest news of growing tension there. The Romanian Government, the statement reads, expresses its solidarity with the resolute and decisive reactions of the international community, principally the United States, proceeding from the conviction that steps should be taken to prevent aggressive acts against Kuwait, which might have dramatic consequences for the fate of nations and for the regional and international climate.

The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses the hope that the signs of the tension easing up in the area will be confirmed, thus facilitating the continuation of the political dialogue between the sides as the only way to solve the conflict in the region. At the same time, the ministry hopes that all necessary steps will be taken to ensure the security, integrity, and sovereignty of the respective states within internationally recognized borders, the statement of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs concludes.

UDMR Requests Rejected as 'Extremist'

AU0710184794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 7 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Answering press questions at today's news conference, Presidential Spokesman Traian Chebeleu said that the thesis that Romania is a multinational state, the Hungarian language should be instituted as official language in Transylvania, and that a parallel and separate educational system should be introduced in Hungarian are extremist requests that have nothing to do with either the protection of the identity of members of the Hungarian ethnic minority or democracy, and he added that in Romania there is a single nation, namely the Romanian one, within which ethnic minorities have existed through history.

Referring to the draft education bill submitted to Parliament by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], which had been signed by about 492,000 people, he said that the draft bill had been seen by President Ion Iliescu and that it does not contain any new elements compared with the amendments proposed to the bill by this political party. The basic criterion in deciding whether to set up universities is whether they are genuinely needed in practice, Chebeleu said.

As for the stories in the press regarding Romania's alleged integration within the economic space of the Russian Federation, Mr. Chebeleu said that the question of such integration has not arisen and that the importing of energy from Russia is being done within a commercial framework, our correspondent Sorin Croitorescu reports.

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Ganic, de Mello Discuss Sarajevo Exclusion Zone

AU1210203194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 94

[Report by Senada Cumurovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Begin recording] [Cumurovic] After 30-minute talks with Prime Minister Silajdzic, Sergio de Mello, chief of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Civilian Sector, said the following for reporters:

[de Mello, in English with superimposed translation] I informed the prime minister about the results of a meeting at the [Sarajevo] airport that lasted approximately five and a half hours. The Bosnian Serb delegation was led by Krajisnik [chairman of the Bosnian Serb parliament] and the Bosnian Government delegation by [Minister Without Portfolio] Muratovic. We examined the progress achieved so far, as well as future steps connected to the continued exchange of prisoners. We also discussed the regular supply of water, electricity, and gas to the town for the needs of the civilian population on both sides of the separation line as well as a number of measures that UNPROFOR is proposing to both sides, with special attention being paid to the stabilization of the situation within the 20-km exclusion zone.

We also examined everything that is needed to restore freedom of movement for the civilians in Sarajevo and around it, that is, to roads via the airport to a degree. I believe that goodwill exists on the Serbian side, too. We agreed that expert groups would start work as of tomorrow while a high-level meeting was scheduled for next Tuesday [11 October]. The results of an expert group meeting that will ensue regarding civilian and military issues and exchange of prisoners, (?will be examined then).

[Cumurovic] In a brief statement for reporters, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said:

[Silajdzic] I will only say that Mr. de Mello has told us that the representatives of the aggressor have shown an interest in stabilizing the supply of electricity, gas, and water to the population. We consider this to be a positive development.

[Cumurovic] Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, also met with Sergio de Mello, chief of UNPROFOR civilian sector. Ganic once again drew de Mello's attention to violations of the 20-km exclusion zone, where, as Dr. Ganic said, the majority of the aggressor's artillery is beyond UNPROFOR's control.

[Ganic] I informed Mr. de Mello that the artillery of Karadzic's Serbs within the 20-km exclusion zone around Sarajevo is very active. Most of these arms are not under UNPROFOR's supervision. I simply asked him whether this was not perhaps a new UNPROFOR strategy and demanded an explanation. Something must be done. We no longer have the zone that was defined by the United Nations and NATO, and the agreement reached is simply no longer being implemented. (?I simply asked) what was happening. Have you changed the policy?. We will protest this most resolutely and demand that they stick to what was agreed. [end recording]

Ljubijankic Objects to Changes in Peace Plan

AU1210210394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 94

[Statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] International press agencies have lately carried a statement by French Foreign Minister, Mr. Juppe, that announces changes to the Contact Group peace plan. He mentions the possibility of giving the so-called Serbian entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina the right to a confederal link with Serbia.

In connection with this, I would like to state in the name of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina that again, on this occasion, we have not been consulted about the intentions of the Contact Group, just as in the earlier case when some of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro were lifted.

If the statement by Mr. Juppe constitutes the Contact Group stance, then such a method of work in the peace process is unacceptable for us.

The Contact Group was resolute in its stance that the constitutional provisions would not be discussed until the proposed plan of territorial division is passed. We expect only that the Contact Group will honor what it had insisted upon itself. The above statement speaks of the equal rights of Karadzic's regime, while this same regime is completing the ethnic cleansing of the territory of Bijeljina and Banja Luka, and thus violating the elementary human rights of others. We can no longer tolerate that the powerlessness of the international community to implement its own decisions is minimized by new concessions to the aggressor, even in the situation when the aggressor is rejecting the peace plan. Not a single positive effect has been achieved by this so far.

Finally, a consensus of two subjects that recognize each other and whom the world recognizes is required for any sort of interstate agreement, which in the case of the announced Contact Group idea has not been accomplished.

UN Reports 'Fierce Fighting' North of Sarajevo

AU1310093594 Paris AFP in English 0927 GMT 13 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 13 (AFP)—Fierce fighting has erupted north of Sarajevo where Bosnian

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government and rebel Serbs have clashed over a key supply route, senior UN Protection Force spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tim Spicer said Thursday.

Heavy artillery and mortar exchanges had been recorded in the last 24 hours in the Cemerska Planina heights south of Olovo, a key Bosnian government-held town some 30 kilometres (20 miles) north of Sarajevo.

"Bosnian Serb forces have made some gains on the ground and there is intense fighting in the area," said Spicer.

"There has been a large battle going on in the area in the last 24 hours," he said, adding that the two sides appeared to be fighting over "access and supply routes."

The Bosnian army is trying to secure control of the all-weather route between Sarajevo and Olovo which would allow the Bosnian authorities to ferry supplies up from the Croatian coast to the government-held northern town of Tuzla.

Supply routes already exist but with the approach of winter control of roads increases in importance.

Government Forces Attack Doboj Area, Teslic

LD1210203694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Doboj, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Muslim units are continuing to attack Serb positions and villages along all front lines in the wider area of Doboj, the information service of the 1st Krajina Corps of the army of the Srpska republic has reported.

The environs and urban areas of Teslic were again targeted by Muslim artillery from the direction of Tenj. About 10 lethal projectiles hit the town, killing Jelena Ostojic (45) from Pribinic near Teslic and wounding several individuals. A great deal of material damage was inflicted.

On the Doboj front line the enemy has stepped up infantry and artillery activities along the line of separation, particularly against positions in the Velika Japija, Putnikovo Brdo, Gric, and Plana and the hamlet of Puracic west and southwest of Doboj, so the Serb fighters responded, tonight's statement by the 1st Krajina Corps of the army of the Srpska republic stresses.

B-H Army Conquers Husari, Reaches Teslic

AU1210193394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 94

[Report by Mirudin Aldobasic]

[FBIS Translated Text] After several days of futile attempts to reconquer lost territories, especially a part of Husari, which has been one of the biggest Serbian strongholds, the units of the 202d Chivalrous Hill Sooty Brigade Tesanj in cooperation with other units of the 7 South Operative Group in a momentous and brilliantly executed counterattack widened the free territory by more than 5 square km and finally destroyed the border of the so-called Srpska republic toward Teslic.

Therefore, not only is Husari plateau, from where the Serbian terrorists have been shelling the innocent residents of Tesanj and its surroundings for days and months, completely liberated, but the Serbian positions have been moved into the suburbs of what is for the time being still occupied Teslic.

After major defeats—and this latest is one of the biggest since the beginning of the war in this region—the aggressor is nevertheless charging into new defeats by attacking constantly the territories newly liberated by our army even though he lost more than 30 chetniks in Husari, of which half were pulled on our territory. As it was established with certainly, the aggressor's army command cadre is recruiting the last available manpower into its ranks. A body of a rescued aggressor's soldier, on whom upon inspection by our expert medical teams a whole series of infectious diseases, including the gravest forms of infectious skin diseases have been diagnosed, most blatantly testifies to this. Does this mean that the Teslic chetniks, after losing territories and forever losing numerous soldiers, are replenishing their lines with the sick men from Doboj and Banja Luka clinical centers?

Fighting in the theater of operations of the 7 South Operative Group continues as the chetniks would not realize that they are losing more with each day. That is why they are shelling the civilian settlements in Tesanj and its surroundings, and the free territories of Doboj and Teslic today. Naturally, all this without any success. The successes of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units in this area are evident and unstoppable.

Serbs Say Muslims Attacking on All Battlefronts

LD1210163994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, Brcko, Bijeljina, Nevesinje, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Muslim units have been launching strong infantry and artillery attacks on all lines of separation with the Srpska republic army, TANJUG's correspondents report, quoting sources in the Srpska republic army.

One Serb fighter was wounded in a Muslim infantry attack in the southwestern section of the Sarajevo battlefield, while "usual infantry activity by Muslim military formations" was registered on other sections of the same battlefield.

Muslim forces also engaged in intensive infantry and artillery activity on the Brcko section of the Posavina battlefield. There were no casualties on the Serb side.

One large Muslim sabotage group has been routed on the Majevica battlefront. Muslim units opened strong

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infantry and artillery fire on the Olovo-Kladanj battlefield as well. Fierce infantry and artillery clashes are continuing again on the Herzegovina front between Mostar and Nevesinje.

The Serb command claims that Muslim forces did not manage to break through the defense lines on any front.

Army Corps Liberates 50 Km on Konjic Front

AU1210125094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] As the Information Service of the 1st Corps reports, the [Serbian] aggressor's offensive on the area around Mount Cemer has been going for some time. Their aim is to take the (?mountain) and cut the Breza-Vares road and the (?Jelinic)-Konjic road on Mount Bjelasnica.

Counterattacking, joint units of the 1st Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina liberated some 50 square kilometers with important facilities, the greatest part of the Treskavica plateau, the facility of Poljiste, Mlatve, and many others.

The counterattacks by our forces inflicted major losses in manpower and hardware on the aggressor. Eight enemy soldiers were captured and over 100 liquidated. A significant number of these were put out of action permanently. Most of the bodies of the aggressor soldiers were brought to our territory.

A significant amount of arms was also captured: five antiaircraft guns, six antiaircraft machineguns, (?3-4) trucks, 15 machine guns, over 100 other infantry weapons, significant amounts of all type of ammunition, and communications and other equipment.

With this counterattack, the enemy's so-called 1st Motorized Guard Brigade from Kalinovik, mainly made up of young conscripts, was completely routed and destroyed. In order to stop our counterattack, the aggressor used all available forces from the so-called army of the Srpska republic and the Serbian police.

Serb Artillery Targets Zvornik Civilian Areas

AU1210131194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 94

[Report by an unidentified correspondent from the Information Service of the 205th Chivalrous Brigade of Zvornik]

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning, the [Serbian] enemy carried out an artillery attack, again targeting civilian areas in Vitinica and Kovacevici, as well as the positions of our fighters.

At the same time, Zaseok and Nezuk were fired on with antiaircraft machine guns. We have not received any information on possible casualties before sending this dispatch.

Sarajevo Flights Suspended After Plane Hit

AU1210143594 Paris AFP in English 1425 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 12 (AFP)—Flights to Sarajevo airport were suspended Wednesday [12 October] after at least one plane was hit in crossfire between Bosnian government and rebel Serb forces, a UN spokesman said.

"One UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) plane was hit four times" shortly after 1:15 p.m. (1215 GMT) said UNPROFOR spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon, adding that all flights at the airport had been "suspended for the afternoon because of the incident."

Correction to Karadzic Statement

AU1210141894

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Karadzic Proposes 'Cessation of Hostilities,'" published in the 12 October East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 40:

Column one, last paragraph, second sentence make read: ... reason, we do not reproach NATO, but... (supplying missing word "not").

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Reports of Serb Krajina Leadership Split Denied

LD1210172594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—The regular 17th session of the government of the republic of Serb Krajina, scheduled for this afternoon, will begin at 0900 tomorrow, Savo Strbac, secretary of the Krajina government, has told journalists.

The government secretary did not say why the session, which had already been put back to 1600 today, was postponed.

Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic said on Radio Knin this morning that the situation in the republic of Serb Krajina leadership "is not worrying" and that reports of disagreements between the leaders are unfounded.

In his opinion, different views in the process of creating the republic of Serb Krajina as a democratic state are understandable, but the government or any other decisive factor in the republic of Serb Krajina "must not be the cause of any tensions."

The agenda of the session includes Information Minister Borivoje Rasuo's open letter to the president of the republic, to the prime minister, and to the president of the assembly which outlines many objections to the government's work.

Officials Replaced in Government Reshuffle

LD1210143494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today adopted several decisions on the dismissal and appointment of ministers and state officials.

Dr. Jure Radic has been dismissed as head of the president's office and has been appointed as deputy prime minister and minister of development and reconstruction.

Engineer Hrvoje Sarinic has been dismissed as head of the national security office and been appointed as head of the president's office.

Krunoslav Olujic, who was state attorney, has been appointed as head of the national security office.

Zlatko Tomcic has been dismissed as minister of public works and the environment, and appointed as minister of urban planning, construction, and housing.

Vesna Girardi-Jurkic has been dismissed as minister of culture and education and will be taking up new duties.

Ljilja Vokic, who was the manager of the seventh high school in Zagreb, has been appointed as minister of education and sport.

Zlatko Vitez, who was the manager of the Histrion actors' club, has been appointed as minister of culture.

Dr. Branimir Jaksic has been dismissed as deputy head of the president's office and appointed as adviser of the president of the Republic of Croatia.

Vesna Skare-Ozbolt, who was a public relations officer in the president's office, has been appointed as acting head of the office of the president of the Republic of Croatia.

Jozo Curic, who was the foreign affairs editor at Croatian Television, has been appointed secretary of the president of the Republic of Croatia for public relations.

Davor Stern, who was a representative of INA [oil company] and other companies abroad, has been appointed as assistant minister of foreign affairs.

Goran Dodik, who in the department of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia, has been appointed as ambassador in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Lawyer Bosiljko Misetic has been appointed as ambassador in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the statement from the president's office says.

HDZ Secretary General Tenders Resignation

LD1210163394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Jure Radic, secretary of the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ], has tendered his resignation from the post of HDZ secretary general, as he is taking up another post. The HDZ Executive Board has decided to keep Jure Radic as a member of the board. He was elected to this post at the second HDZ general assembly.

Zlatko Canjuga has been appointed acting secretary general of the HDZ, the HDZ Executive Board has announced.

Istria To Establish Relations With Toscana

LD1210174994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct. 12 (TANJUG)—Croatian papers on Wednesday said Croatia's Istria region would soon establish representative ties with the Italian province of Toscana through the opening of an embassy.

Istria is an Adriatic peninsula held mostly by Croatia and partially by Slovenia. The area became a full member of the Assembly of the European Regions on Friday.

The region was once a part of Italy. The recent rebuilding of links with Italy has prompted suspicions in Zagreb about "regionalism" in the political leadership of the Istrian district.

District chief Damir Kajin said Istria's joining the Assembly of the European Regions was a part of Istria's policy of peace and coexistence among various ethnic communities.

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Croatian papers quoted Kajin as telling a press conference in the Istrian town of Pazin that while Istria had been successful in joining a European Association, Croatia had not been admitted to the Council of Europe because of its mistreatment of minorities.

The Istrian Democratic Alliance that seeks full autonomy for Istria was victorious in the last Croatian elections held in the area.

Italian Ambassador Discusses Italian Minority

AU1210155794 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep 94 pp 4,5

[Interview with Italian Ambassador to Croatia Paolo Pensa by Senol Selimovic; place and date not given: "Croatia Cannot Create Italian Laws"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Italian law which grants some Croatian citizens the right to Italian citizenship is the main topic of the interview with Paolo Pensa, ambassador of the Republic of Italy in Zagreb. Over the past couple of days, the issue has made headlines in the Croatian press but has also been in the focus of the Croatian political public, in addition to some discussions at the latest parliamentary session. However, Zagreb and Rome were at loggerheads even before the question of dual citizenship was raised, for example when official Italy openly said they were dissatisfied with the status of their minority in Croatia and asked Croatia to return property the former had lost when leaving these parts after World War II. In the course of the interview, we asked the Italian ambassador about other controversial questions regarding bilateral relations between the two countries.

[Selimovic] Mr. Pensa, after the latest elections in Italy, the relations between Italy and Croatia have changed. Would you comment on current bilateral relations between the two countries?

[Pensa] Let me first make it clear that there are no major differences between the former and current governments of Italy, at least not with regard to foreign policy, hence neither regarding the relations with Croatia. In the past couple of years, in concurrence with changes in the Italian government, the circumstances with the collapse of former Yugoslavia put relations between Croatia and Italy at the center of attention. At the same time, some problems arose between Italy and the newly formed country on the territory of the former federation, but there are no significant differences with regard to that either.

[Selimovic] But Italian ruling politicians make statements to which we must react. For example, Giacomelli, a member of Fini's party, in an interview to the wide-circulation Italian weekly FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA, said that "Croatia must be dismembered."

[Pensa] I must say that the interview for FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA is not very representative of Mr. Giacomelli. You should read the transcript of his discussion in the regional assembly. His statement is much easier to understand because he is more direct, more specific and in that respect he stands out. However, those are his personal views and not the views of the Aleanze nazionale and especially not the Italian state leadership. Giacomelli's statements must be seen exclusively as his own private views.

[Selimovic] Let me now ask you about the most important issue—an Italian law that has lately raised a lot of dust in the Croatian public. The law provoked a violent backlash from Istrian priests and numerous institutions that say it undermines Croatian national dignity. Would you comment on those reactions?

[Pensa] We should first look at the consequences of giving those people Italian citizenship and we would see that those consequences would be much more limited, even negligible in number, considering the size and extent of the reaction it provoked. We should refrain from assigning any political connotation to the phenomenon. Of course, I understand the sensitivity of the matter, but I must add that those reactions seem to introduce old relations in a new era. Still, I am convinced that we will soon overcome and solve this problem.

[Selimovic] There was a great deal of speculation about motives for applying for Italian citizenship, whether they were social and economic, or political. What is the motive behind the decision of Italy to offer its citizenship to those people?

[Pensa] Italian legislative policy went into an important stage when, in 1992, it amended and merged three or four laws on citizenship from 1912 to 1983. Family rights laws were changed during that period, so the question of citizenship was included within the context of legal reform. The reform also included all those cases of people who forfeited Italian citizenship for various reasons, often without really wanting to do so. For example, many people forfeited their citizenship on account of neutralization [as published], because of their jobs, or simply because they did not want to leave their homes for the sake of historic incidents, for marital reasons, etc. Women forfeited Italian citizenship because the old law said that a woman had to take her husband's citizenship when she marries. Consequently, legal reform in the area of family rights produced the famous Article 17 of Law No. 91 in 1992. The article was designed to include those who, some 50 years ago—and we know what the situation was then—did not avail themselves of existing options. The article was designed to help them realize this existential need to Italian citizenship they lost against their own will. The law has already produced results, but it is now difficult to predict whether it will continue to be applied.

[Selimovic] Will the atmosphere in Croatia, in the aftermath of all that, influence further implementation of the law?

[Pensa] No, this law applies to all Italians in the world, not only to those living in Croatia. Moreover, you must

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consider the fact that applications that are not fully documented will not be entered into the process. For example, of some 10,000 applications estimated to have been filed from Croatia, it is very likely that about 90 percent will be rejected.

[Selimovic] Who will make the final decision about who will be accepted and granted Italian citizenship?

[Pensa] That will be done by a government commission that was established in Italy.

[Selimovic] You say nothing can be done without complete documentation. A couple of months ago, some police administrations stopped issuing the certificates necessary to apply for Italian citizenship.

[Pensa] Croatian police did not stop giving out those forms (confirming that they had Italian citizenship on 15 September, 1947 and informing of their whereabouts on 10 June, 1940, for people born before 10 June, 1940), but said that they did not have records that are 50 years old or more and that those records could be found in historical archives. So, citizens should go to their local archives for the pertinent documentation.

[Selimovic] After acquiring Italian citizenship, will Italy give Croatian Italians social pensions or any support since pensions in Croatia are on average between 100,000 and 150,000 Italian lire?

[Pensa] If they go to live in Italy, they will be accorded all rights appertaining to their jobs, social status, etc. Otherwise, if they remain living in Croatia, i.e. outside Italy, I do not believe they will automatically get financial assistance just because they are Italian citizens.

[Selimovic] I asked you that because many believe the financial aid is the only motive for people lining up in droves to get Italian citizenship.

[Pensa] Yes, there has been a lot of speculation regarding those pensions. It is common knowledge that many people in Croatia get Italian pensions, but those are old pensions and have nothing to do with the present citizenship law. Some Croatian citizens got those pensions because they served in the Italian Armed Forces. In order to get the pension, they had to submit their military identifications from the period (foglio matricolare) and other necessary documentation, but the applicants did not have to be Italian citizens.

[Selimovic] Today more than 56 million people live in Italy and almost as many Italians live abroad. Is it possible that the law may backfire on Italy some day by doubling the number of its citizens?

[Pensa] The law is no longer valid and we are aware of the consequences. So, as far as that is concerned—even considering countries like Brazil, Argentina, and the United States with many Italian emigrants—only some 10,000 Italians will be able to get their citizenship back. This law will affect a relatively small number of people. Therefore, I would not like to see another 30 million Italians wanting to come back to Italy. Furthermore, bear in mind that some countries like Argentina have a special agreement on dual citizenship, which gives Argentinean citizens a chance to get Italian citizenship and vice versa, simply by changing their place of residence, without limitations, i.e. whenever they want.

[Selimovic] President Tudjman has recently said, even in the pope's presence, that the Italian minority in Croatia enjoys all rights in accordance with European standards. On the other hand, representatives of that minority, as well as official Italy, express dissatisfaction with its status. Some even say that the status of Italian minority in Croatia was better during the former Yugoslav regime. What do you think is the problem?

[Pensa] The Italian minority in these parts, both before this country was created, as well as during the former regime, wanted to express the positive values of their historical and ethnic position in county and town statutes. The obligation is contained in the Croatian constitutional law but also in a series of international agreements. The principle to which the Italian ethnic community is referring was formulated already in the St. Germain agreement in 1919. The document mentions *indigenat*, i.e. the right to domicile, historical inveteracy, "aboriginal" status. Modern political jargon has a term for that: indigenousness. Therefore, the Italians want their indigenousness to be recognized and to be given appertaining rights. And that is why the Croatian government entrusted the Constitutional Court with examining the status of the Istrian county. I hope that the Constitutional Court will make a wise ruling on the matter and solve the problem.

However, I do not think the problem lies in disagreement with Italy over the status of Italian minority, as you said; rather, I think this is an internal problem of Croatian regional policy and that Croats and Istrian Italians should put their heads together and work it out.

[Selimovic] Why do you think Croatia's regional policy is not favorable for the Italian minority or, obviously, for Italy?

[Pensa] I would not say the problem lies in Croatia in general, but in the present government's politics, which fears regional development. One can even understand such fears at a time when the Croatian state is fighting for its existence, but that does not mean we have to like it. I think it would be in the interest of Croatia to develop, instead of suppressing the strategy of regional development, without excessive suspicions and fears.

[Selimovic] You came to Zagreb only recently; just a couple of days after town authorities rejected the demand of the local Italian community to be included in the town statute. Was your arrival a kind of intervention?

[Pensa] No, it was not an intervention. Rather, it was a coincidence. I took office not long before that and I was

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visiting Istria and Rijeka to get acquainted with the country. To be quite frank, I heard that their demand for recognition of indigenousness in the town statute was rejected quite accidentally, on my tour. However, my visit to Zadar had already been scheduled as something I had to do. At any rate, the mayor of Zadar was very understanding and we agreed that there were actually no major hindrances for the Zadar Italians to get all rights to which they are entitled. I hope that the mayor will keep his promise and that, in meetings with representatives of the Italian minority, he will expound on the possibility to give the Zadar Italians a place in the town parliament after next elections.

[Selimovic] "Krajina" has lately been spreading rumors and making moves trying to undermine Croat-Italian relations. What is the view of the new Italian government with regard to the "krajina" in Croatia?

[Pensa] Naturally, Italy recognized Croatia and its borders as set in the former federation, and its views with regard to that have not changed. There are, indeed, people whose views can be irritating to public opinion, like Giacomelli whom you mentioned, but let me repeat that these are individual personal views regarding international law.

[Selimovic] In conclusion, do you have a message for the Croatian public regarding the recent developments in relations between the two countries?

[Pensa] It is normal that neighboring countries have more complex relations than more distant countries that meet only occasionally or have only nominal relations. There is something new in relations between neighboring countries every day and there are, of course, more problems. For example, we always have some problems with Australia and Switzerland.... But all those developments, problems, and even occasional disagreements between neighbors should first of all be taken as a sign of friendship, as long as we are able to talk about them. And we must talk, devote equal attention to the smallest and the greatest problems.

B-H Army Activity Against Serbs Viewed

AU1210173694 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Oct 94 p 8

[Report by Z. Grgurinovic: "New Battles Soon"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sisak—The relative abatement of the situation on the occupied part of the province, where fierce battles have been fought between the members of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the rebel Serbs lately, does not mean that peace has been restored to this region. The 5th Corps continues to hold the territory it conquered in its counterattack. By transgressing on Croatian territory, it has managed to establish control over a part of the road between Dvor and Glina, and by conquering the Corkovaca elevation near Dvor na Uni it has attained a huge strategic advantage.

The Serbs are nevertheless recovering from their losses and are trying to close up their ranks, and one should thus expect that new battles may break out soon and that the Serbs may try to push the members of the 5th Corps back to their initial positions, from which they inflicted huge losses upon them.

It seems that the 5th Corps will not change its combat tactics. It has found "the key" to dispersing the Serb forces that have been accustomed to conquering territories because of their technical supremacy. The Serbian tactic of shelling an area that they would like to conquer for days and weeks and then, once the residents have fled, simply entering and taking it, "does not work" in this case. The guerrilla warfare has proved to be good and, most probably, the Bosnian Army will continue to decide for saboteur incursions into the UNPA [UN Protected Area] zones and will conquer individual parts of them.

Even if it does not conquer them, it is sufficient for the Bosnian Army to create panic in the Serbian ranks and then withdraw, which was the case recently when the Bosnian Army broke into the area of Hrvatska Kostajnica and Glina, where it had caused mayhem among the Serb forces, who were not ready for this type of warfare. This disturbance was sufficient to unburden the Bihac battlefield and crack the myth about "the invincibility of the Serbs."

However, it would be unreasonable to expect that the 5th Corps would be capable of capturing any of the towns in the province. In order to seize Hrvatska Kostajnica, Glina, Dvor or any other town in the occupied part of the province, or the towns and places on the Lika battlefield, the 5th Corps would need at least 50,000 men. Even in this case, the Corps would find it difficult to hold the positions, bearing in mind the impossibility of any logistic support because they are surrounded by the Serbs. Dudakovic's fighters would find it difficult to hold on. However, fighting the way they are doing now, there is no doubt that they will continue to be an unsolvable puzzle for the starving and demoralized Serbs.

Serbs Claim Muslim Soldiers Among Refugees

LD1110193194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1811 GMT 11 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—Over the past 24 hours, 280 Muslims, 50 of them men of call-up age, fled from western Bosnia to the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina, Colonel Marinko Gajic, assistant commander of the Serb army of Krajina, said in Knin this evening.

According to him, more than 300 people fled the territory controlled by the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army in the latest wave of refugees over the past few days.

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"Twenty people who crossed over yesterday admitted that they are 5th Corps soldiers, and said that they deserted out of fear of the terror spreading in the army and among civilians by mercenaries from several Muslim countries," Gajic said.

War Crimes Tribunal To Issue Indictments

LD1210090694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0703 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone has announced that the war crimes tribunal for former Yugoslavia will issue the first indictments in November, while the trials are expected to begin in March of next year. He described the talks held in Zagreb and Sarajevo as positive, with both parties giving their support to the tribunal. The Serbian Government, however, rejected a request from the tribunal to open an office in Belgrade.

TANJUG Views Government Control of Press

LD1210155894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1423 GMT 12 Oct 94

[By Nikola Stanojevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct. 12 (TANJUG)—A large number of Croatian papers call themselves "independent" or "private", but there are just a few that have avoided being placed in the service of the Croatian Government.

These independent papers, however, are becoming increasingly influential, prompting the Croatian Government to some rash steps in an attempt to "bring some order" in Croatian papers and make the lives of the disobedient miserable.

The Croatian Government controls four dailies—VJESNIK, VECERNJI LIST, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA and GLAS SLAVONIJE—as well as the weekly DANAS which fears a ban because it does not manage to meet the desired level of propaganda.

The new weekly PANORAMA glorifies the ustasha ideology, publishes memoirs of ustasha terrorists and defends Tomislav Mercep, commander of the death squad that killed about 2,500 Serb civilians in Pakracka Poljana, western Slavonia, alone.

The Croatian ustasha movement was a clerico-fascist paramilitary force responsible for killing hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and gypsies in World War II. Ustasha troops joined nazi formations on Germany's eastern front in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

The state television, which is the only television in Croatia, says certain ranking Croatian officials might have to step down, but still does a good job for the governing Croatian Democratic Union.

The biggest private publishing house in Croatia is Globus, whose weekly of the same name has a circulation of 150,000 copies and publishes interviews with ustashas, unverified sensational information and half-truths.

The independent Split weekly FERAL TRIBUNE with a circulation of about 50,000 copies is most troublesome for the government because Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is very often the target of its criticism.

Under the circumstances, this is extremely brave because assaults on Tudjman are interpreted as assaults on Croatia.

The government has tried to silence the weekly by imposing an extra tax, placing it in the category of pornographic papers.

Moreover, Mercep sued the weekly for what he described as false reports on his role in massacres of Serbs in Pakracka Poljana and elsewhere in Croatia.

Well-aware of the fact that it is slowly losing the battle with independent papers, the government announces a new media purge.

The appearance of the new independent weekly PECAT, however, shows that no measures will be sufficient to help the government become supreme master of the Croatian media.

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Gligorov Outlines Foreign, Economic Policy

AU1310104894 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 11 Oct 94 p 4

[Interview with President Kiro Gligorov by Erol Rizaov; place and date not given: "The European Orientation of Macedonia Must Not Be Imperiled"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rizaov] Four years have passed since the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. Many analysts in Macedonia claim that during this period many important changes have occurred that would normally have taken several decades to be accomplished in a peaceful and evolutionary way.

You have been head of state during this very important period. What changes have guaranteed that Macedonia is on the right road to becoming a modern and democratic European state?

[Gligorov] I would first of all like to say that the concrete changes in the position of Macedonia and the Macedonian people started in 1941 with the insurrection, the antifascist struggle, the people's participation in this struggle, and the formation of our own state—the Republic of Macedonia. Until then it had seemed that the destiny of Macedonia and of the Macedonian people had been sealed. After the First World War ethnic denationalization was set in motion throughout Macedonia. There was no chance of Macedonia creating its own state, not even obtaining some kind of autonomy or the recognition of national and human rights, in royal Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, or Greece. That is why ASNOM [Antifascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia] in 1944 opened up a new era for the solution of our problem, and I would say not only national problem, but also the creation of conditions that would lead to the solution of this question, one of the most volatile ones, which could have led to further Balkan wars.

We must not, at this juncture, lose sight of this historic act. In this 45-year period Macedonia was constituted as a republic with all its national institutions, its language, and all the other characteristics of a nation. The collapse of Yugoslavia five years ago signified a new historic moment for achieving the goal of an autonomous and independent state. However, the collapse of Yugoslavia was full of dangers, and what had been earned in the course of the 45 years could have been engangered. There was a serious danger of a regional conflict: We could have been dragged into war and even occupied. The countries that signed the Bucharest Agreement reopened the question: What about Macedonia? There have been three attempts for international conflicts which could once again put at stake everything that had been achieved with a serious threat for bedimming the perspectives for an independent and sovereign state.

These changes have been avoided. Nevertheless, that was just the first condition for safeguarding our state. The internal peace and stability were the reasons for preventing foreign intervention. The second condition for us was to be accepted by the international community. That was a difficult procedure. The neighbors which could not accomplish their own aspirations because of our internal stability undertook enormous activities for preventing Macedonia's admission to the United Nations. The aim was to keep Macedonia in an undefined position, as a disputable territory without sovereignty, and to allow everybody to make his own requests in the process of the solution of the Balkan problems. This is the only way how we can understand these facts. It was not by accident that, in spite of our international affirmation, the FR Yugoslavia has not recognized Macedonia yet. In spite of the great pressure it is exposed to, Greece is not lifting the embargo because it is waiting to see what is going to become of Macedonia. It is not by accident that at this very moment the Macedonian language is not recognized in Bulgaria. These are all elements that are kept in reserve, that can open various possibilities to others tomorrow, if our people allows it, if we do not keep peace, stability, and if we do not go on with the affirmation of Macedonia in the world and with building its reputation, and certainly, if we do not go on doing whatever is necessary for peace and stability. I here have in mind the necessary profound reforms, the road to democracy, a state ruled by laws, establishment of a civilized society with all its institutions, market as well as political ones. We can conclude that Macedonia has really found the possibilities for overcoming, during these 50 years, the position that seemed to be definitely lost in history. Now it is on us, on the present and future generations, to maintain and construct Macedonia, taking into consideration that all its hitherto policy is leading us toward Europe and toward the European Union.

The Dangers Have Not Been Avoided

[Rizaov] You are now again a candidate for president. Macedonia is electing a president of the state for the first time in a new political system, at general elections. Which were your motives for accepting to be a candidate?

[Gligorov] From what I stated above it is not difficult to see the motif. The dangers have not been avoided yet, the consolidation of Macedonia has not been accomplished on the international plan, as well as on the internal plan. I am especially expecting to be engaged in an area that is a challenge for me. I used to be engaged in economy in the past, and that is what I would like to be engaged in again, particularly now that we have established ourselves into the international financial institutions, that we have found friendly countries, and now that internal reforms have opened the road to foreign capital. Whatever forces we have on the economic plan must be engaged. I would like to give my personal contribution to this, since it is my profession. Let us make Macedonia a modern and prosperous country. Of

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course, that will not be accomplished in one mandate, but I would like to start with this most important work in the forthcoming mandate.

[Rizaov] Why are you with the Alliance for Macedonia and what are your reasons for being the candidate of these three coalition partners?

[Gligorov] There were many who advised me to present myself as a candidate with 10,000 supporters, to be outside all the parties, as a generally accepted candidate. Many parties offered me their support, as well as other civil and other associations. I believe that we must respect the logic of a pluralist multi-party system. It is impossible to have a super-party, to have generally accepted individuals whose determinations are not known, as well as their aspirations and ideas about the kind of cooperation they want to establish. There were discussions in Macedonia about the cult of the personality, and I think this is a way to demystify it, and also the best way to do this in the future. Each party should have its own presidential candidate and its candidate for chairman of the Assembly, and so on.

Federalization Is the Biggest Lie

[Rizaov] Your opponent [VMRO-DPMNE's Georgievski] is constantly emphasizing the danger of Macedonia being federalized at his rallies. You have been directly accused of supporting such a policy.

[Gligorov] I have never supported the idea of the federalization of Macedonia. In these most difficult past four years federalization has not happened in Macedonia. It is a slogan that has been invented with the aim of influencing the people, particularly those who are not well informed, those who do not have the opportunity to monitor events in the republic. This invented idea of federalization has been repudiated by the present status of Macedonia and its constitutional order. This is one of the greatest lies in the election campaign. That presidential candidate is using it as a scarecrow to indicate a danger that, it is my firm belief, is nothing but imaginary.

[Rizaov] You are criticized for your policy of coexistence. You frequently emphasize that stable interethnic relations in Macedonia guarantee the country's stability. Some say that behind this determination there is compromise, that is, you are ready to proclaim Macedonia, if you win the elections, as a multinational state with a number of constitutent nations.

[Gligorov] What alternative is there to coexistence? Is there one at all? Any other alternative means conflict and that means war in the Balkans. We have concluded that internal stability has not only secured for us peace and tranquility amidst the Balkan confusion, but it has also created conditions for our international recognition. What would have happened if we had allowed the spread of hatred among the population, among the nationalities, or if we had taken into account these threats, or had accepted promises given at rallies saying that the nationalities would become second-class citizens, that they ought to be grateful to be in this state, or that this country is not their homeland? That would mean that we would be directly encouraging them to seek help from over the border. Can we safeguard Macedonia as a democratic country in which all its citizens will feel in their own country, always ready to defend it, and be in such a position? I think that this is nothing but a game with possible interethnic conflicts, and it is an insult to the absolutely necessary mutual tolerance. Our stance is that every citizen in this country can take his place according to his abilities. Without that we cannot have a country governed by laws; we cannot have a civil state or a civilized society. It is beyond comprehension to think that coexistence is a danger to the existence of Macedonia and that it can lead to war, just as it is to say that if we make national divisions and expel 150,000 Albanians it will not lead to war. Or to classify some nationalities in Macedonia—labelling some as 200 percent, others as 100 percent loyal, or to accuse some notional 17 percent of the population of needing to prove its loyalty, after which we will see what rights it can have, and so on. This is what will deprive us of all that we have achieved so far.

[Rizaov] A historical slogan taken over from some other time, that is from the time of national freedom, "Macedonia for the Macedonians," is now being much exploited by your rival candidate. What is your personal feeling about this appeal to return Macedonia to the Macedonians? To whom did Macedonia belong until now?

[Gligorov] This is a slogan that has been borrowed from the time when the Macedonians had nothing. They had to fight for recognition. Then it meant a struggle for the right to self- determination. We could then say, why cannot Macedonia be for Macedonians, if Serbia is for Serbs, Bulgaria for Bulgarians, and Albania for Albanians?

If we now say that Macedonia should be for Macedonians, it means that Macedonia is not governed by Macedonians, but by some foreigners. Since modern Macedonia is a civil state, it is a state of all the citizens of Macedonia, and therefore also of the Macedonians, regardless of their nationality and religion. The Macedonians have no other state and in this context we can say that this is the state of the Macedonians, and not only of the Macedonians, but of all citizens in Macedonia.

[Rizaov] Your policy of equal distance has also been a target for strong criticisms of your opponents in the election campaign. Some are asking for special relations with Bulgaria, others with Serbia or Albania. What is the reason for such demands?

[Gligorov] When we say that Macedonia is determined to conduct a policy of equal distance, this first of all means that it wants to have active cooperation with all

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its neighbors. That is not a slogan for a special relationship with the neighbors. Conflicts with the neighbors put in jeopardy the fate of a country, after which the international community will determine itself according to its own interests. We are following this historical and cultural logic when we opt for good and friendly relations with all our neighbors, particularly because Macedonia has always been the cause of fighting among the neighbors, whose purpose was to divide and rule it.

If we decided to favor any of the neighbors—the eastern, the northern, or the western—it would a priori mean that none of the other neighbors would accept its interests in Macedonia to be of a lesser importance. In such a case they would start competing for a greater influence in Macedonia. From past experience we know that all kinds of propaganda would then be used, and the result would be an attempt to create internal divisions in Macedonia, that is an insecure position for Macedonia, so as to bring the Macedonian question onto the Balkan agenda once again. The reasons for criticizing the policy of equal distance are hangovers from the past burdening some people and their families. Fortunately, this influence is not very strong. That is why the public does not support the idea of abandoning this policy. Those are nothing but calculations for seizing power with the assistance of certain foreign countries. Regardless of the results of the elections, if we abandon the policy of equal distance, it will mean that Macedonia's independence and everything that has been achieved hitherto will be in danger.

[Rizaov] Concerning relations with Greece, you are also accused of preparing conditions for changing the name of the Republic of Macedonia. What will the positions of the state in further negotiations with our southern neighbor be?

[Gligorov] If we had been ready to change the name of Macedonia, we would have done so in the most difficult years of our struggle for existence and international recognition. Since that has not happened so far, there are no reasons why it should happen in the future, now that the names of Macedonia and the Macedonians have been accepted in the world. This struggle is over.

When we talk about negotiations with Greece and about possible compromises, we first of all have in mind and are proposing compromises that will express our common interests in an economic and regional plan. We want to be in Europe with all the others, we want to open roads and solve all the other questions between the two countries related to minority rights, and so on. However, nothing that has to do with the identity of this country and this nation can be subject to compromise.

[Rizaov] Privatization has started in Macedonia. Some political parties in their campaign stress that, if they come to power, they will abandon the process of privatization. They say that, first of all, everything has to be the property of the state, after which the process of privatization can start. What is your opinion about these ideas?

[Gligorov] I would like to emphasize that there is no single model of privatization that has proved itself empirically. There are many models: Some are trying to do it with the assistance of the international financial and other world institutions, but there are also other kinds of attempts. This was the case with Slovenia, Croatia, and Hungary, which changed its law a couple of times, with eastern Germany, Bulgaria, and so on. Why was that so? Because the world is facing a new phenomenon that was not known before. The West has experience of privatizing parts of the state and public ownership of, let us say, 5, 10, 12, or at most 15 percent, and they have been doing this for years. The attempt to privatize 100 percent of state property, as was the case with the USSR, Albania, and Bulgaria, is something that has not been experienced yet, and therefore it is difficult to trust those who promise to accomplish privatization with ease. Their easy way is to make everything state property. That is exactly what was done in 1945. They want to make everything state property and then privatize it, and they think that if they make everything state property, privatization can be successfully implemented. It is the same mistake with the same consequences. It means that we will once again have a bureaucrat economy in which state bureaucrats and the government will take part and this is contrary to all market laws.

[Rizaov] Mr. Gligorov, if you win the elections and if the Alliance for Macedonia has a majority in parliament, what will become of Macedonia over the next five, or rather four years? How will the citizens of Macedonia see in the 21st century?

[Gligorov] We need a stable period that will last until the end of this century, in which we can use the present internal stability and peace in Macedonia for constructive work and to create a state governed by laws. We have before us the duty to organize the administration. This is one of the first things that characterize the nature of a state. We are expecting a transformation in the economy, for which we have created some good possibilities with a stable national currency and control of inflation, because of which the international institutions are ready to help us. I hope that some states and major banks will guarantee investment in Macedonia soon.

That is why Macedonia has to keep its image of a peaceful country, a country with all the conditions for gradual admission into the European Union. I am not too optimistic, but I believe that we shall become a member of the Council of Europe by the end of next year. I expect the war will end next year, the sanctions will be lifted, as well as the embargo imposed by Greece, and I expect the roads will be opened. By the end of next year a railroad to Bulgaria will be constructed, and, as soon as the basic dispute has been solved with Greece next year, we shall start negotiations with the European Union. First of all, we must sign an agreement on political and economic cooperation, and then start negotiations on becoming an affiliated member.

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I am sure that Macedonia will be an affiliated member of the European Union by the end of this century. After that, we shall need a very short time to finalize this process. Macedonia, as a small country, will have the chance to acquire what is most necessary for its existence. No matter how small our capacities are, our Macedonian market is not sufficient. That is why we are having such difficulties. Every small country needs a greater space for its economic activities in order to be able to get value from its labor and material potentials through competition. It requires an enormous internal effort, but it also gives a maximum impetus to people's initiatives, to their interest in working for themselves and their families, and thus the state, too. That is why we must not jeopardize Macedonia's European orientation. We must struggle for open economic borders, for maximum cooperation with the neighbors. Macedonia must get a parliament that will be first of all engaged in its primary task, that is administration, and that will elect a government with a solid parliamentary majority. I would be happy if we could have a strong opposition that would actively participate in the construction of the state by making proposals, constructive criticism, not obstructions, and not a desire to postpone Macedonia's consolidation. I would like the opposition to gain in confidence and to plan to take over power by demonstrating a greater knowledge, by making better proposals, by showing better experience, and so on. Both sides should be ready to make compromises.

The Election Campaign Is Democratic and Fair

[Rizaov] When can the citizens of Macedonia expect better and more prosperous lives?

[Gligorov] I think that an improvement can be expected as soon as the borders are opened. By activating the capacities there will be interest, and certainly much greater from outside, in investment and support from international financial institutions. The construction of certain factories will soon be over, and new ones will soon be starting; we have already created an atmosphere for greater self-confidence and we have given a great impetus to the people to make greater profits. That is why we need a longer, I would call it, creative period, compared with the period in which we were obliged to struggle for our existence.

[Rizaov] Others are promising similar things. What is the difference between you and them?

[Gligorov] In my opinion, the difference is obvious. A government must be given confidence after it has been assessed by what it has achieved in the past. Nothing has fallen from the sky; nothing has been received as a gift. On the contrary, we had to pass through various labyrinths, overcome temptations, obstacles, and blockades, and so on. This proves that we knew what we wanted to achieve and that we had chosen the right methods. I think this is the basic reference, because promises as such do not necessarily mean accomplishments.

[Rizaov] You are 77 years old. Some political opponents are worried about your health. Some even claim that you are not in the best physical or mental conditions.

[Gligorov] What can I tell you? I have never been in hospital in my whole life. Second, all the citizens know that, because they can see me daily. I have not been absent from work for a single day, and therefore this is nothing but an unfair attack.

[Rizaov] What is your opinion about the election campaign and can we expect fair and free elections?

[Gligorov] From what I am personally experiencing and what I can see of rallies on television and so on, and also from what some polls have revealed in this month, there is great interest, it is even a little surprising, in voting in the elections. The interest is now increasing, although the number of meetings has been decreasing. This is a very good sign. I am deeply convinced that if a large percentage of the citizens vote in the elections, we shall obtain proper results.

As for the election campaign, I think it has been really democratic and fair so far.

[Rizaov] Whom did you wish to have as a rival candidate for the presidential elections?

[Gligorov] As far as I know, those candidates who can make the election race more interesting and more important are usually announced before the elections, when different concepts are exposed on a more realistic basis, but this did not happen. Moreover, some of the parties that were thinking in terms of ruling the country have remained without a presidential candidate, and that is not normal for large parties that want to secure their own rule.

[Rizaov] To be more precise, whom did you have in mind as a rival candidate?

[Gligorov] Vasil Tupurkovski and Petar Gosev were mentioned as possible candidates. I think that in that case it would have been much more interesting for the citizens to make their choice. Nevertheless, even the present competition gives enough possibilities for perceiving Macedonia's future.

[Box, p 4]

[Rizaov] Some of your political opponents say that you come from Belgrade and that you are of the type of instructors during and after the war. [sentence as published] Is this just an attempt at an election smear or there is another motive?

[Gligorov] I think that the motives are clear. I am not worried at all. You remember that there were and still are some who try to call me a Serb-lover. The Serbian media has been writing for months, even years, that I am oriented toward Bulgaria and that I am a Bulgarian-lover.

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On the other hand, I am no stranger to Macedonia, although I did spend a number of years in Belgrade, where I was sent against my personal wish. My whole life has been dedicated to working for the good of Macedonia, for its unification, for a market economy, and so on. The Macedonian public knows this very well all these decades.

I do not think that there are any reasons for these attacks other than the elections. I cooperated with Petar Gosev in the first elections, and he is the one who is now attacking me for being an instructor and a newcomer from Belgrade. In some people's opinion, that cooperation in the first elections helped him to win votes, especially in eastern Macedonia, which enabled his party [the Democratic Party] to remain among the circle of those that can rule in Macedonia. It is true that Gosev abandoned not only his party but also the leadership that had elected him, as well as his supporters, and it is also true that he refused the prime minister's job. That was a great chance for him to show what he can do. He is now probably trying to prove that somebody was creating obstacles for him, or he may now be trying to show that there had been some differences between the two of us. He is trying to prove that he is the correct alternative in this situation.

[Box, p 4]

[Rizaov] There is another political party that is promising money to the citizens. Sums of 5,000 to 10,000 German marks [DM] are being mentioned.

[Gligorov] That is what they think: We shall solve this problem in the easiest way in the first 100 days. After making an estimate of the wealth of Macedonia, we shall divide it per capita. Each citizen will be allotted DM5-10,000 and with these checks the citizens will become shareholders and be able to buy shares in companies, to get hold of an office, or to become owners of a sum of money that can give them some economic power. They say that this is the only correct way to stop the uncontrolled gain of capital, and so on. However, it is known that so-called papers of value, if they are spread widely, lose their value or come into the possession of a number of people who can then buy shares cheap. This is how one can become rich in the most unfair way. These people will become the owners of Macedonia's wealth with accumulations of hundreds of thousands or millions of such vouchers, while the national wealth will not be increased at all. We have the experience of the First and the Second World War. After the First World War, this was because Macedonia was where the war had been waged, the army had crossed it on its way to the Salonika front, and so on. After the war royal Yugoslavia issued 2.5 percent of government bonds to all citizens and peasants in Macedonia to cover the damage. These bonds were then purchased for symbolic sums of money by some financiers, and one of the main purchasers was the prime minister of the former Yugoslav government, Milan Stojadinovic, who thus became the richest man in royal Yugoslavia.

Poll Gives Gligorov 'Safe' Lead of 61 Percent

AU1110121394 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Oct 94 p 1

[Poll by "DATA PRESS" Agency of NOVA MAKEDONIJA: "Kiro Gligorov Has Safe Lead"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the blare of the election campaign, NOVA MAKEDONIJA's Data Press service organized a poll to survey public opinion on the elections. The results showed that the participation of the citizens in the second parliamentary and presidential elections will be impressive. Up to 90.67 percent of those questioned said that they would turn out for the elections.

Out of the 600 citizens questioned in an anonymous telephone survey 22.67 percent said they had not decided yet which party they would vote for. The poll has also revealed, however, that the percentage of citizens that have not yet decided which party to vote for has decreased, probably as a result of the heated election campaign. Of those who have already made up their minds there are 31.33 percent who have decided to vote for the Alliance for Macedonia, 14.67 percent for the Democratic Party, 13.33 percent for the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], 8.67 percent for the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity], 1.67 percent for the DPM [Democratic Party of Macedonia], while 4.67 percent will vote for other parties.

Regarding the question "for which presidential candidate are you going to vote," it was shown that Kiro Gligorov is still in the lead, with 61.67 percent saying that he was their choice; 14 percent will vote for Ljubisa Georgievski [VMRO-DPMNE candidate]. There may be some changes after the 14.33 percent that have not yet decided make up their minds. Nevertheless, this is not likely to have much impact on the present rating of the Alliance for Macedonia's presidential candidate.

Regarding the candidates who have decided to vote for Ljubisa Georgievski, their reason was that they expected some changes in favor of a better future and a better economic program. On the other hand, those who decided to vote for Kiro Gligorov said that they would do so because he is an experienced man, that he can be trusted, and that he has accomplished great achievements.

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Federal

Foreign Ministry Reports on Talks With U.S.

LD1210193694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1842 GMT 12 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Assistant Foreign Minister Nikola Cicanovi and United States Deputy Secretary of State Gregory Treverton here Wednesday conferred about crisis in former Yugoslavia.

A Yugoslav Foreign Ministry statement released after the meeting said Cicanovic and Treverton concentrated on how to resolve the most acute problem—the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The statement said the meeting also focused on relations between the republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia.

The statement said the first meeting on this level in two years was believed to mark the beginning of a restoration of more normal contacts between Yugoslavia and the United States.

TANJUG: Clinton Expanding Monroe Doctrine

LD1210180194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 12 Oct 94

[Article by Borislav Lalic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 12 (TANJUG)—What we are witnessing in the world today might better be termed the "American world order" rather than the "new world order".

Washington used to say it would only intervene where "vital national and security interests" of the United States were at stake, only to end up having "vital interests" in Haiti, Somalia, on the Korean peninsula and in Bosnia.

Bill Clinton's moves have gone so far as to take some U.S. citizens by surprise despite their country's past "interventions".

Clinton's policies have in effect expanded on the Monroe Doctrine, applying its principles to the entire world.

The Monroe Doctrine introduced in the 1800s held that the Americas belonged to Americans and Washington would oppose any European intervention in the hemisphere. The effect of the doctrine was to make the Americas Washington's exclusive zone of influence.

At the time, European colonialism in South America was faltering and the United States exploited the situation to its advantage.

Western European countries are today beginning to question what consequences Clinton's use of a similar policy in Bosnia might have for the rest of Europe.

No sooner had the whole world begun to hope that peace in Bosnia was within reach, than Washington seemed eager to prolong the war. A war without U.S. ground troops—only with U.S.-made bombs falling from the sky.

Missions based on the "protect the ally" or "promote democracy" motive more often than not appear to be aimed at securing oil fields or protecting other U.S. interests.

What is constant about this policy is that it keeps the U.S. military-industrial complex working at full capacity regardless of the end of the Cold War.

Despite numerous unresolved domestic problems it almost looks as if Clinton might be hoping for reelection through "intervention". Perhaps he has forgotten the electoral fate of George Bush, the man who "crushed" Saddam Husayn.

24 Sandzak Muslims Jailed for 'Separatism'

AU1210213094 Paris AFP in English 2110 GMT 12 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Pazar, Yugoslavia, Oct 12 (AFP)—Twenty-four Moslems from rump Yugoslavia's Sandzak region were jailed here Wednesday for between one and six years after being convicted of separatism, judicial officials said.

The group were accused of trying to "break up the territorial integrity" of Serbia and Montenegro, which constitute rump Yugoslavia, and of seeking to set up an independent Sandzak nation.

All defendants were members of the Democratic Action Party (SDA) which is popular with the region's majority Moslem population.

Under Yugoslav law they faced a maximum 10-year prison sentence.

The 24 were arrested in May 1993.

The trial of 22 Montenegrin SDA leaders including party chief Harun Hodzic on "secessionist" charges recently opened at Bijelo Polje, Montenegro.

Moslem officials in Sandzak said Wednesday the Novi Pazar trial was aimed at "intimidating and deterring" Sandzak Moslems from strengthening ties with Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro.

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